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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

No. 137.—VOL. III.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1843.

PRICE 6d.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

STEREOTYPED EXCUSES.

To a man given to reflect upon the sayings and doings of his fellow-men, it is curious to observe the pertinacity with which conscience will persist in covering its nakedness from its own view, and, if possible, from the view of others, with the threadbare and out-at-elbows pretexts which have been successively worn, and cast off as useless, by generation after generation. One class, anxious to conceal some cherished defect, or to adorn some wrong which, seen in its native simplicity, would shock every spectator, puts on a certain semblance of reason which, for a time, answers the end. But it is for a time only. The trick is discovered. Common sense, prying into the matter, finds out that beneath the fair outside there is that which will not bear the light. A cry is raised—the class is hunted from pillar to post—and at last, finding escape impossible, at least in the guise which it has assumed, casts it off as no longer serviceable. One would suppose that here the history of that particular pretext would end, and that thenceforth none would deign to look upon it save with an eye of contempt. But no! another class, which joined in pursuit of the first, picks it up and puts it on forthwith. And thus the thing passes from hand to hand, all uniting in the laugh at its insufficiency but they who wear it, and all, unmindful of their former mirth, clothing themselves with it when their turn for self-delusion comes round. Truly, this is a strange world, and "there is nothing new under the sun."

One of these worn-out pretexts with which men evade their responsibilities, is, "this is not the time." It is one of the faded and cast-off liveries of reason. There have been occasions when it truly represented wisdom, and was sent to do her work. There may be again. But it is wonderful how often it is employed to do the errands of other and far less noble masters. Amongst that rather numerous class of men who are called to duties for which they have no heart it is especially in vogue. A practical principle cannot knock at the door of their conscience, but out comes "this is not the time," to deny it ingress. Earnestness cannot call aloud upon sincerity to come forth, but up goes some window, and forth protrudes some head, to say "this is not the time." You point attention to a flagrant wrong, to a company of bystanders. There is one man among them whom you fancy you have moved. He nods acquiescence in all you say—he even ventures to cry "Shame" upon the evil-doer. Encouraged by this outward show of agreement with you in feeling, you ask him to lend a hand in putting an end to what he deprecates. He smiles, shakes his head with much solemnity of manner, and turns away exclaiming, "This is not the time."

"This is not the time." When dissenters urged upon their professed friends in former days the abolition of the Test and Corporations' act, their friends admitted the hardship of the nonconformists, and the profane and oppressive character of the statute, but with all imaginable politeness answered, "This is not the time." William Pitt was a parliamentary reformer in his early years. He never changed his sentiments throughout the period of his premiership, but, unfortunately, he could never see it to be the proper time to act upon them. When Clarkson formed his resolution to overthrow the slave-trade, all men admitted his magnanimity—none defended the abominable traffic—but those were few indeed who could be brought to agree that he had chosen the right time for his exertions. When the Anti-corn-law League was started at Manchester, and a few men banded themselves together to labour for free-trade, nobody disputed the desirableness of the object "in the abstract," but this was not the time to carry it into effect.

"To-morrow—Oh! that's sudden! spare him, spare him!"

What numberless advantages might we not enjoy were the time only ripe for our seeking them in earnest! What men of high principle might we not all be if we could but make the development of it square with the temper of the times! There is scarce a rogue that walks the streets who does not intend to become honest when he can see it to be the fitting time. Of all delusions this is the most common—suits with equal aptitude every

case—and is applied with equal readiness on every emergency. It is a heal-all for scratched consciences—as efficacious as "spermaceti for an inward bruise." It is difficult to divine how men could get on without it—certain it is, they could not get off so frequently, and with such seeming self-satisfaction, as they do. And yet, by whomsoever used, it has long ceased to serve as a cloak—for in this capacity every one but the wearer laughs at its raggedness.

They who now put forward this plea in discouragement of all aggressive movements upon the establishment of religion, are not, it is frankly confessed, to be thereupon charged with a conscious and deliberate evasion of an urgent duty. But it may not be amiss for them to bear in mind, that the apology they submit has grown to be very grievously suspected. They adopt it in common with the enemies of all improvement, and it will be their hard lot to be classed by many in the same category. We will make bold, moreover, to remind them, that that respect in which they are wont to be held, may inwardly decay long ere the smallest external symptom of its unsoundness discloses itself to their own view. It is becoming but too common, and we allude to the fact with deep regret, to regard dissenting ministers as a main bar in the way of the success of every earnest movement for the elevation of their own countrymen. The common excuses, so intelligible in the mouths of those who profit by abuses, are found to be sanctioned by men whose knowledge, whose professions, and whose engagements, are of a kind to augur better things. Leaving, however, this ungenial topic, we beg to point out the danger to which all are liable, who resort to the worn-out defence of inaction, to which we have adverted, of making it serve as a mouth-piece of self, rather than as expressing the dictates of wisdom. Here is an evil of superlative magnitude—a devastating spiritual evil—one which all dissenters profess to see and to deplore. Its removal implies a certain amount of difficulty overcome; in other words, a certain amount of labour, suffering, and self-sacrifice, to overcome it. And this labour, this suffering, this self-sacrifice, some party must exhibit, before any consummation of our common hopes. Who does not see how easy it is, and how natural, for each generation to say, "This is not the time—some one will have to undertake this hazardous enterprise, but it belongs not to us. The thought, the anxiety, the reproach, the present loss, the active exertion, the patient endurance, the unwavering faith, which this work craves and must have, are not demanded at our hands. Our children may, haply, be called upon to lay them on the altar—but it is no part of our duty." This is a very comfortable position to assume—but is it not so comfortable as to tempt us to mistake? Perhaps our children will be impressed with the same idea—possibly, also, it will be handed down as an heirloom to their children—and so the evil will remain, and the terrible consequences of it will spread themselves, because each age, as it comes, persuades itself that, whatever others may be, it, at all events, is not appointed to give battle to the monster.

The true time to attack sin, in any shape, is when there is earnestness enough in the heart to will the attack. Man, in this respect, receives not his commission from external arrangements. To Luther it was the time to assault Rome, when his soul rose to that pitch of daring, that success or failure was not admitted as an element of his calculation—when for the truth's sake he was personally indifferent whether he alone should "stand the brave" of the whole world, or whether he should be encircled by hosts of applauding friends. Carey, judging from mere outward signs, might have been prevailed upon by his timid and half-hearted brethren to believe that his was not the time to level a blow at Eastern idolatry, hoary with the age of three thousand years—but he was guided, not by the aspect of the times, but by the strength of his own large and courageous heart. And thus it is with every reformer—with every truly earnest man. All times are his time. He goes forth to wrestle with seeming impossibilities; not because they have been smoothed down by others into plain and easy practicabilities, but because his love for truth makes him willing, if need be, to sacrifice himself in the first encounter. The deep ravine is before him—the yawning ditch at its bottom—the armed foe on the opposite bank; but he does

not wait until the bodies of the slain have formed a bridge for him, across which he may rush with prospect of victory. No! he has no misgivings as to whether or not "this is the time." For anything he can tell, it may be that his body is wanted to afford a footing for those who may succeed him; and, therefore, onward he marches, leaving the issue in higher hands. Let those who please themselves with the very easy conclusion that "this is not the time" to meet and take counsel, and resolve, and act, and suffer, with a view to put down the evil of state churchism, beware lest indolence, and not wisdom, prompt the apology. It is notorious that such has been the case in multitudes of past instances of a like nature. Be it theirs to guard themselves against falling into the same mistake.

THE POET AND THE PRINCE.

ROBERT HALL, in company with a friend, once made an excursion to the beautiful gardens attached to a gentleman's seat, within an easy ride of Leicester. His name was sent into the house, with a request that he might be allowed to go round them—a request which was promptly and courteously acceded to. After viewing the horticultural beauties of the place, the head gardener, who had his cue from the house, led Mr Hall to the back steps, upon which he found the inmates of the mansion, with a gentleman or two in clerical garb, waiting his arrival, to offer their respects, and to beg him to walk in and partake of some refreshment. He cordially thanked them for the pleasure he had already enjoyed, declined their invitation, and departed. Some little difference of opinion between himself and his friend, the nature of which it is not important to state, led them, on their way home, to touch upon the subject of their reception at the house, and in the course of the conversation, Mr Hall, whose observation nothing could escape, said—"Did you observe the gentlemen in black, sir?" "Yes, sir, they were clergymen." "Yes, sir, clergymen," he responded, "they are always to be met with in such places—they are the things, sir, which creep about great men's heads."

It is not the least of the evils resulting from the unnatural alliance between civil governments and the church, that the latter usually becomes the fawning parasite of the former. Were the task imposed upon us to cull from the pages of history the most remarkable specimens of flattery which man, unblushing, could present to man, we should search amongst the speeches of churchmen to crowned heads. Many fulsome praises were offered to the pedant, James the first—and to the proficient in duplicity, Charles, elevated by ecclesiastical affection to the dignity of martyr. But in sycophantic adulation, in pure wantonness of flattery, those of the pulpit and the episcopal bench surpassed them all. We are not surprised at this. The system which a state clergy must adopt and support, deprives them of all the characteristic features of manhood. They sell their own freedom when they become the tools of the state, and, like all tools, they lick the feet of their master, whilst they trample upon the necks of their reputed inferiors.

A modern sample of this occurred at Cambridge, during the recent visit of her Majesty and Prince Albert to that university. We shall not quarrel with what it has become the fashion to term "the hospitality" of subjects to their Queen. We should be amongst the last to abet the withholding from the sovereign of this nation, or from her royal consort, that dignified respect to which their rank entitles them. It may be, for aught we know, no joke, but a most appropriate compliment, to make Prince Albert a doctor of laws, as no doubt it was, some years back, to make the Duke of York bishop of Osnaburg. These are the somewhat fantastic, but all the more pious, expressions of college loyalty. But we do think flattery should have at least some faint tinge of likelihood about it. Had the prince been offered admission to "holy orders," we should imagine the compliment would scarcely have palmed upon his understanding and his taste, more than the following. We pick the account from the report in the *Morning Chronicle*. "The party halting before the mulberry tree planted by JOHN MILTON (who was a member of Christ's college), addressed his royal highness in a short but eloquent speech. Dr Graham observed that the members of that college had hitherto prided themselves on the name of Milton—but they

would now for ever associate with it the visit with which his royal highness had deigned to honour them."

We rather suspect that the staunch old nonconformist's plea for "The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," and his "Way to Turn Hirelings out of the Church," may serve to explain the readiness with which the members of Christ's college were "off with their old love," before they were "on with the new." Doubtless, they see more to admire in the Queen's husband than in the memory of the bard whom Cambridge hates because Cambridge injured him. Worldly rank is ever revered by state churchism above intellectual eminence and moral worth. Therefore, although these men speak somewhat largely when they pledge posterity for ever to forget Milton, and think only of Prince Albert, they speak sincerely. The Prince's visit to Christ's college will become, within *Christ's college*, the theme of most interesting association in its history. The wide world will, through successive generations, think on *John Milton*—and England will pride herself upon having given him birth. Christ's college will muse upon Prince Albert, and glory in having made him a doctor of laws. Genius, putting forth its efforts on behalf of liberty and religion, will gain the attention, and excite the reverence, of the first. Rank will gain the homage of the last. Whilst Great Britain continues to be a nation, her most intelligent and patriotic sons will congratulate themselves that they can point to a poet who could, referring to his—

—"eyes, though clear
To outward view, of blemish, or of spot,
Bereft of light"—

say with a pious magnanimity, a parallel to which it is difficult to find in history—

—"What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In liberty's defence, my noble task."

To have had such a man consecrating his vast and various powers to such a work will ever remain the boast of Englishmen. Not so, however, of Christ's college, Cambridge. Turning from this spectacle, they will recall the bravery and mumming connected with a prince's visit to their halls—will retain a grateful sense of what the nation will soon forget, and will aim to forget what the nation cares only to retain. Most appropriate resolution for one of the head nurses of state religionism! We doubt whether it could have been conceived beyond the precincts of an established church.

EAST LONDON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.

YESTERDAY week, a public meeting was held at the Eastern institution, Commercial road, for the purpose of explaining the object and advocating the claims of the above newly-formed society. Dr Bowring, M.P., presided on the occasion.

The CHAIRMAN, in rising to address the meeting, said: he could not but consider it an honour thus to be called upon to preside on an occasion like the present. They were called that day to take part in one of those great questions which were now agitating society, and were met to inquire if the religious establishment created by the state for the benefit of the one sect, and levying contributions on all others, was likely to forward the cause of a pure Christianity, or to advance either the moral or the spiritual interests of the community. As far as his experience went, he was bound to say that such establishments could not. They had never made a nation religious, while they had made the church political. The experiment had been tried. The establishment of that country was possessed of enormous wealth, and had monopolised the whole field of religious action, but what had been the results? He ventured to affirm that, considering the mighty machinery put into operation, never had so little good been achieved. It had not answered the high and holy purpose which it was proposed to effect.

Mr J. C. WILLIAMS, one of the secretaries, then read a report of the circumstances which had led to the formation of the society, and a statement of its objects. It appears, that the committee appointed in the east of London to oppose the Factories' Education bill, encouraged by the feeling which was evinced during that struggle on the subject of church establishments, conceived the idea of forming a permanent association, not only for resisting similar attacks, but for advancing the great principles of perfect religious liberty. The public meeting, convened on the 28th of June last, for mutual congratulation on the defeat of the bill, appointed a provisional committee, for the purpose of drawing up a suitable plan; and steps were afterwards taken which led to the formation of the present society, which already numbers 700 members. The committee stated their intention of holding similar meetings throughout the district.

Mr J. CARLILE, independent minister, moved the first resolution, prefacing it with a short address bearing on the subject. The spirit of despotism, he said, was stealing into this country, or, rather, it was openly manifesting itself, and they were to consider themselves fortunate if they were tolerated at all—tolerated to choose their own pastors or places of worship. Religious toleration was not religious freedom. Tolerate his religion! His principles, as a dissenter, were either sound or unsound; either holy or unholy; either acceptable to God or repugnant to his holy nature. If they were sound and

scriptural, if they were saving in their influence, and sanctifying in their tendency, why did the civil power interfere? Show him their right, and tell him where God had given them the right of tolerating that which was displeasing in his sight. He spurned their toleration [great cheering]. If they talked of tolerating his religion, they were putting an insult upon him, as an intelligent being. Was it not, then, a solemn and a sacred duty that they should spread these principles as widely as their influence extended, and seek to gain for them a universal recognition [hear]? Mr Carlile concluded by moving—

"That this meeting, while fully recognising the supreme and vital importance of pure and undefiled religion, to personal and social happiness, are of opinion, that to legislate on matters of religion is not within the province of civil government, inasmuch as such legislation invades both the rights of man and the prerogatives of God; and that perfect religious freedom never can be enjoyed in this or any other nation, until all such authoritative interference with religious convictions shall cease and determine."

Mr E. HALLIDAY, minister of the gospel, in seconding the resolution, said—They had hitherto been too frequently content with merely declining to share in the patronage and pelf of an establishment, rather than condemning the establishment itself. The rays of royal favour had seldom shone upon them. The right to any post of honour in the state had been denied to them. They had laboured in the diffusion of truth throughout the world, and the only notice bestowed upon them on the part of the members of the establishment, had been to wit them with their poverty, or brand them with their scorn. He did not, however, blame them greatly, for they had undoubtedly been consistent with the principles they professed; but should it not induce endeavours to make their principles known and felt [hear, hear]? Away with the policy that argued that they must fold their arms, and mark their missiles as they fell in their camp, and show them how they might quench them with their tears, and prove to them their cowardice. If their principles were true, let them advocate them boldly; let them do so till they have seen through all the mists of bigotry and selfishness which surrounded them. Let them promulgate the grand principle, that man was accountable to God for his religion, and not to man. Let it be proclaimed, that man has a right to inquire and decide for himself in respect to everything he was to believe as true in matters of religion, without any let or authority of any power in the land.

Mr C. STOVEL, baptist minister, moved the second resolution:—

"That, entertaining this as their deliberate opinion, this meeting learn with high satisfaction the formation of 'The East London Religious Liberty society,' in the constitution of which they hereby express their cordial concurrence, and to which, in the promotion of its objects by peaceful and constitutional means, they pledge themselves to give their zealous and undivided support."

He said that he was a member of the Voluntary Church association—a society he sincerely loved and desired to see steadily advanced; but it confined itself to discussing the religious view of the question. This fell short of the objects they contemplated. They contemplated the ulterior measure—they discussed the wisdom or folly of separating church from state [loud cheers]. He had generally found that dissenters had been afraid to advance their several points, fearful of shocking their enemies [hear]. On several occasions he had mentioned this circumstance, and they might have heard it from him before. Some years ago he formed one of a deputation who waited on Earl Grey. When they had stated their errand, and expressed their views on the object of their visit, he (Earl Grey) asked, "If the government were to redress your grievances, would you be satisfied?" The reply showed there was division. One said "Yes," another "No." Earl Grey said, he should himself consider that if dissenters were true to their principles, they never could be satisfied till the connexion between church and state be severed [great cheers]. When it was replied that nothing would eventually satisfy them but that separation he said, "Would it not be more noble for you ever to express that principle? for your adversaries know your wishes, and will certainly do their utmost to foil you." When they had to deal with legislators, rest assured they would narrowly scrutinise their principles, and search their motives when so much was at stake. Let, then, all they did be conducive to that end. He then proceeded to show that the attainment of their object—the separation of church and state, was necessary to relieve the poor, to relieve the legislature of many of its embarrassments, and to preserve religion pure and unadorned. He cordially concurred in the present society, and begged they would aim at the ultimate object. They must have patience; and having that, joined with courage, they would work out all their operations, obstacles would disappear, and God would plead the cause of his own truth.

Colonel THOMPSON, who was warmly received, moved the third resolution, which was as follows:—

"That the aspect of the present times—the recent proposed invasion of civil and religious liberty in the Factories Education bill—the threatened endowment of the Roman catholic priesthood in Ireland, on the implied condition of the continuance of the Irish church establishment—the growing intolerance of the established clergy in this land, and the operation of the compulsory system in the colonies—render the adoption of such vigorous and systematic measures an incumbent duty; and this meeting would, therefore, express its earnest hope that the attached friends of religious freedom will be induced to form similar societies through every part of the British empire, and in other nations."

He said that he appeared before them as a civil aid; the religious view of the question having been already ably debated. He came, therefore, to talk about temporalities. He was not imbued with a hostile feeling towards the church establishment, but he could not allow it its power of oppression. The present was a time when it was a duty for all to

join in endeavouring to rid themselves of an incubus—a common evil. The Colonel then made some severe remarks on the conduct of those who had endeavoured to disturb the harmony of the meeting. He said there were three great struggles going on at the present time for commercial, political, and religious freedom—that they formed a three-fold cord—that one did not seem likely to be behind the other. Let it not, he said, go forth that dissenters are not awake to their wrongs—that they are disposed to take any bonus or sop, or to fall out in their own ranks.

GEORGE OFFOR, Esq., having seconded the resolution, a vote of thanks to the chairman was carried with acclamation, and the meeting separated.

THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.—In a late number we referred to the formation of the above society, at a meeting held at Norwich. The following are the objects of the society:—

1. Name.—The Norfolk and Norwich Religious Liberty society.
2. Fundamental principle.—That the church of Christ, in submitting to alliance with civil government, necessarily violates its own spiritual constitution, the rights of conscience, and the injunctions of the word of God.
3. Object.—The entire liberation of the church of Christ from civil interference in religious matters.
4. Constitution.—That this society consist of persons holding its fundamental principle, and contributing to its funds not less than one shilling annually. That the executive consist of a treasurer, three secretaries, and a committee of thirty members, who shall be elected annually; and that five form a *quorum*.
5. Means of Action.—That the society endeavour to secure its object—by holding meetings of its members in their respective localities, by the distribution of tracts, the use of the press, the delivery of lectures, the collection of statistics, co-operation with kindred societies, the counteraction of ecclesiastical intolerance, the resistance of legislative encroachment, and the adoption of such other measures as passing events may require.

The society already embraces the main body, as to influence and talent, of dissenters in the county. It is proposed that a monthly periodical, for the purpose of instructing dissenters in their principles, &c., should be started at Norwich. The treasurer of the society is T. Brightwell, Esq., and the secretaries Messrs Brock, baptist, and Reed and Dryden, independent ministers.

DISPUTE OVER AN UNBURIED CORPSE.—Our attention has been called by a correspondent to a narrative, in an Oxford paper, of the proceedings of a Mr T. Chamberlain, curate of St Thomas's parish in that city. The following are the facts of the case. More than once the churchyard of this parish has been the scene of disturbance and outrage; more than once has tumult and riot been the consequence of the indiscretion of the curate; and on Friday last the curate raised a dispute over the dead body of a child, brought for interment, which ended in riot and blows, and caused a high state of excitement and indignation through the parish. From an authentic statement of facts now before us, we find that the curate intimated that he would not bury the child when it lay dead in the cradle, that he renewed this refusal at his rooms at Christ church, that he rested his refusal on the ground that it had not been baptised for the pardon of sin! that, after long remonstrance by the father, who, having four little ones buried in the parish church-yard, naturally desired that the kindred dust should have one depository, the curate said if he buried it, it would be in a way the father would not like. The father urged that the child had been baptised by the senior Wesleyan minister, Mr M. Wilson, who was ordained by Dr Coke, a presbyter of the church of England. On the morning of Friday the sexton intimated to the mother that a grave was dug in a corner of the churchyard; in the afternoon the funeral procession entered the churchyard; the curate, also attended by three policemen, was on the spot, and pointing to the grave said—"There is a grave; I mean to bury your child as a cast-away." After a brief dialogue, the excited and bereaved mother seized upon the curate, and a most painful spectacle ensued. The clergyman desirous to escape, and calling for the police; the mother demanding the interment of her child; the father calling for a spade, and declaring he would bury his child by the other children himself. A large crowd gathered, and for nearly three hours the churchyard was the scene of excitement, disorder, and tumult. In the end the child was buried by the side of its relatives, and by another clergyman. In referring to this our correspondent "Senex" says—

"I have lately seen, in an Oxford paper, the account of a disgraceful scene which took place in a churchyard in that city, in consequence of the curate of the parish refusing to bury the corpse of a child, because it had not been baptised according to the forms of the church of England."

"On this subject I should be glad to be informed, in a legal point of view,

"1. Whether every corpse dying in a parish ought not to be buried? that is, whether the law does not require that it should be buried, and that not for the sake of the dead, but of the living?

"2. If the corpse is to be buried, where but in the church or churchyard? by whom but by the minister of the parish? and in what way but according to the rites of the church of England?

"Then, in a moral and religious point of view, why, and on what ground, is an unbaptised or an improperly baptised person to be refused burial in the churchyard?

"1. Is it supposed that some benefit accrues to the deceased in consequence of the body being placed in consecrated ground? If so, why should the unbaptised or improperly baptised be refused this benefit? If he needs it all the more for the misfortune of his want of baptism, or correct baptism, it seems hard to refuse it to him on that account. Is this Christian or church of England charity?

"2. Is it contended that the presence of his corpse would desecrate the adjacent ground? This can hardly be, that the error or misconduct, or perchance the ignorance, of a minister, who may have buried in a consecrated churchyard an unbaptised person, should do away with the effect of the consecration of the bishop, and spoil his work.

"3. Still less can it be supposed that the presence of this corpse would injure other persons whose bodies have been already consigned to this earth.

"I ask, then, why on earth these refusals, which so often lead to strife and scandal, and, as in the case before us, to blows and contentions? Is it that the clergy wish to have a further hold over us? Surely in the nineteenth century popery will not be allowed to regain its empire over us."

"WHERE ARE THE TWO THOUSAND?"—We have received the following interesting communication from a correspondent under the above heading, which affords a striking instance of the practical working of a church establishment. It appears that a part of the congregation, mentioned below, are deliberating what course to pursue. We trust they will carry out the excellent advice given them in the subjoined communication:—

"To the former Communicants and Attendants at St Barnabas.

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS—Year after year passed away during my late esteemed brother, the Rev. William Thompson's, occupation of the pulpit at Saint Barnabas, and amidst his unceasing efforts for the welfare of the people in its vicinity, you always responded cheerfully to his appeals; and, in the increased attendance on his ministrations, and in the prosperity of your local institutions, you were amply repaid in the cheering evidences you observed of the divine benediction.

"Your attachment to the cause of truth, during those years, was not confined to your more immediate locality, in the establishing of Sunday, of daily, and of infant schools, containing nearly 1000 children, nor to your District Visiting and Ladies' societies; but you included in its range this yet but partially blessed world—hence the Church Missionary and the British and Foreign Bible societies, those noble institutions of our times, had their fair proportions; and the amount of, perhaps, near £5000, raised for these objects, testified how willingly you shared my brother's anxieties, that the people of his charge should not only be blessings at home, but should also encircle the world.

"Infinite wisdom has seen fit to remove him from the sphere of his labours; the tie has been broken which united you in works of faith and in labours of love; but are your efforts to evangelise the parish of St Luke to end with his ascent to the realms of the blessed? Will you deem yourselves released from the claims of Christian neighbourhood? Will you be content, unless the seed, sown among you in past years, shall still continue to bear fruit to the praise of the Gracious Master you mutually and so cheerfully served? It is true that you are now a scattered flock; nor could it be desired that it should be otherwise: after the failure of your numerously signed petitions to the Bishop of Llandaff, and your rector, that the warm-hearted, the Rev. J. P. Walsh should be my brother's successor, such a scattering became unavoidably right and proper; but are there no remedial measures by which your re-union and your future settlement, under some faithful shepherd, may yet be secured, and by which also the 50,000 immortal beings, by whom you are surrounded, may yet have all the benefits which your former association secured? No ray of hope presents itself but by such re-union; 'your schools are still in existence, but they are like dying embers;' no efforts are making to prevent their extinction; all now rests with yourselves. Have you not been told they are a nuisance? that they must be sent out of the church? that, as a congregation, you have too many irons in the fire, and that some of them must be extinguished? Are these things so? Are your past exertions to diffuse a healthful, moral, and spiritual influence through the surrounding population to be at once destroyed, leaving scarcely a wreck behind? Your honour, your gratitude for the past, your Christian character, your resolves for the future, each assuredly exclaim, 'It shall not be.'

"Thousands are looking at the issue of this disruption, and they ask, 'Where are the two thousand gone, whose wakeful solicitude established and sustained these fountains of scriptural knowledge—these labours for home and the distant heathen? Where are those who thought the poorest in the lanes, the alleys, the garrets, and the cellars, had claims on their Christian compassion?'

"The establishment to which you are attached has ceased, or declined, to secure for yourselves and your families the spiritual provision on which you had so long been fed, and for the restoration of which, from this quarter, all your hopes must have now vanished. But is there no deliverance; no resource, to which you can resort? The great and the heavenly-minded, the late Countess of Huntingdon, was once placed in circumstances somewhat similar: she could not obtain from the establishment that which her renewed nature so anxiously desired, and she determined to provide for herself, and for multitudes also, the ministrations of holy men; the liturgy, which, like yourselves, she loved, was retained, with improvements suited to the times in which she lived. Cannot you testify your grateful recollections of the ordinances you so long enjoyed, by calling a meeting, forthwith, for general consideration? Could you not also resolve, in imitation of the great and the good of Scotland, to erect a free church; and where, free from all state interference, and from all ecclesiastical control, you might select a minister of your own unbiased choice, to go in and out among you? Thus, the alarming deficiency of the means of grace, in St Luke's, which leaves 44,000 unbled with the ministrations of mercy, might, in some measure, be supplied.

"Arise! and the blessing of the Most High will rest upon you. Other Christian denominations in the vicinity will not only approve, but they will aid and bless you; thousands and tens of thousands, in the present and in coming ages, will remember the day when you so decided; and when the deep impression of your responsibilities urged you onwards to exhibit a model of devoted zeal, as beneficial in its character as it was blessed in its results; when error was dispersed; when light, and peace, and love were introduced; and when thousands were pointed to Him whose loving-kindness is better than life, and under whose smiles they pursued

their pilgrimage on earth, and by whose grace they were prepared for the unending bliss of the redeemed.

"Yours in Christian sympathy,
"THOMAS THOMPSON."

"Poundsford Park, October 21st, 1843."

A MINISTER OF THE COMPULSORY CHURCH.—The *Falmouth Packet* gives the following account of an occurrence which took place in the parish church of that town:—"Last Sunday, at the conclusion of the sermon, as John Hill, Esq., one of our magistrates, and his lady, were about to leave the church, objecting to remain whilst the priest protracted the service by the innovation of the offertory, the curate, a Mr Marshall, who seemed more desirous of emulating the pugnacious disposition of the absent rector, than of imitating the Christian virtues of the holy men of whom he claims to be the 'successor,' seeing Mr Hill about to open his pew, darted suddenly over the pulpit stairs, rushed through the aisle, and rudely stopped the progress of Mrs Hill in her exit, by thrusting his begging dish in her face. On a courteous refusal being given by Mrs Hill to this extraordinary attempt at obtaining a compulsory contribution, the curate threatened Mr Hill with the interference of the churchwardens on the following Sunday should he presume to quit his seat until the termination of the service! Mr Hill indignantly quitted the church, and left the reverend brawler to return to finish the Christian exercises of his religion, the fruits of which he so admirably exemplifies in his own person, to the edification of the parish and flock."

CLERICAL BIGOTRY.—The *Western Times* records a choice specimen of narrow-minded intolerance, in a communication from Mr F. Rice, independent minister of West Teignmouth. Mr Rice says:—"Until within the last few years there was a public foot path through West Teignmouth churchyard, which, for convenience sake, some of the independent dissenters availed themselves of to go to their chapel on Sundays; and since the public path was stopped, they have, till now, continued to go through the yard without hindrance, when the gates were open. In common with others, I did the same, unmolested, till the 15th inst, but on the morning of that day the curate saw me pass through the yard, and inquired who I was, and was told the independent minister. In the afternoon a message was brought me from the sexton to this effect—that the parson had ordered him to prevent me from going through the yard any more! the pretext for this being, that the ground is consecrated! Probably, sir, it may be necessary to re-consecrate the holy soil, or if not, to perform some ceremony in order to remove the pollution which it has received from the heretical feet of the teacher of a conventicle."

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.—I have it on the best authority, that the ministry have promised the deputation from the synod of Ulster who lately waited on them, that they will bring in a bill next session, to constitute every presbyterian house of worship in Ireland, a licensed place for the celebration of marriages: and to make all marriages by presbyterian clergymen, whether of persons of their own communion, or any other, valid and legal. This decision of ministers is not likely to be well received by their high church supporters in Ireland. During the interview, Sir James Graham stated to the deputation, that the government had long felt that the grant made to the Royal Academical institution of Belfast (the Irish Presbyterian college) was not adequate to the claims of the presbyterians, and requested to be furnished with such information as might guide them in increasing it. This declaration was totally unexpected, and took the deputation quite by surprise. This new-born desire to conciliate the Irish presbyterians, and to go beyond their demands and expectations, evidently springs from a desire on the part of the government to prevent the possibility of a junction between the catholics of the south, and the presbyterians of the north, by heaping favours and protection on the latter.—*Correspondent of the Cheltenham Free Press.*

THE FREE CHURCH.—The report of the deputations to England shows that, besides all the other advantages that have resulted from the intercourse among Christians produced by these deputations, £20,000 have already come into the treasury of the free church.—*Witness.*

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

In consequence of the voluminous extent of our own report of the proceedings of this body we are unable to insert it this week. We, therefore, adopt the summary of the *Scotsman* and other Scotch papers.

On Wednesday evening, Oct. 18, twenty addresses from various churches and religious communities were laid on the table, and a committee was appointed to prepare answers to them. Deputations from the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, and the United Associate Synod, addressed the assembly, and it was agreed to send deputations from the Free Church to the next meetings of these Synods.

On Thursday forenoon the assembly held a private deliberation on the finances. In the evening Dr Candlish gave in a report on the state of the Highlands, more especially Sutherlandshire, and the persecutions that had there been endured. Mr Fox Maule proposed, and the Marquis of Breadalbane seconded, a series of resolutions expressive of the assembly's sympathy with the people of Sutherland, who are prevented by the proprietor from the privilege of assembling for worship, and of the assembly's determination to do what can be done to remedy this state of things. A committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect.

On Friday the assembly was occupied with cases

of disputed settlements, and the report of the committee on education. The adherence of the missionaries on the Madras station was intimated, and a resolution came to, to carry out a more systematic visit to England, by means of which it was hoped to raise £50,000. In the evening sederunt, Dr Welsh, Convener of the Assembly's Committee on Education, read the report, which embraced four departments—the College, Elementary Schools, Sabbath Schools, and Musical Education.

On Saturday the assembly sat with closed doors, for consultation on the subject of finances of the church. On Monday some cases of disputed settlements occupied the court. The report of the finance committee was thereafter read. On Tuesday, the report of the committee on the election of office-bearers was taken up, and ultimately referred to Presbyteries for their opinion. One principle recognised is the right of the people to elect their own minister; but it is also a principle that the whole proceedings connected with the appointment of ministers shall be conducted under *Presbyterial superintendence*. The right of female communicants to vote was warmly opposed by Mr Carment and others, as an innovation unknown to the fathers of the church! The assembly ultimately came to the following deliverance:—"The assembly generally approve of the report, direct it to be remitted to Presbyteries, that they may send up their opinions thereon to next General Assembly, and enact *ad interim* in terms thereof! The Sabbath Observance Report was then read and approved. A committee was appointed to draw up a testimony by the church, stating the grounds of its separation from the establishment. Dr M'Farlane stated, that with regard to trying the question as to *quoad sacra* churches, it had been stated in the assembly the other day, as a general opinion, that one case should be selected and tried, for the purpose of forming the rule for others, and the opinion of counsel was decidedly in favour of such a course. He would suggest that a minute should be prepared, ordering that such a case should be legally tried. After some discussion, it was resolved, that the law committee should be instructed to select a *quoad sacra* church case on which to take the judgment of the Court of Session; and that a collection, for the necessary funds to follow forth the case, should be made in all the churches on the first Sabbath in February next. Mr Dunlop then rose and said, "Moderator, I move that the next assembly meet at Edinburgh on 16th of May, 1844." The proposition was cordially agreed to. The Moderator, Dr Brown, then delivered his concluding address. The assembly then sang the last three verses of the 122d Psalm, and, after the benediction, separated at two o'clock on Wednesday morning.

On Saturday morning se'night a public breakfast took place, at which Dr Chalmers laid before the meeting some interesting details respecting the finances of the Free Church, which he frankly and unreservedly stated was in great difficulties, from "the excess of its great and growing prosperity." On Friday, a third public breakfast took place, at which the subject of conversation was the educational schemes of the Free Church, and at which Mr Fox Maule took occasion to lament the sectarian nature of the educational institutions of Scotland. On Saturday, a fourth public breakfast was attended by even a larger number of persons than upon any of the previous occasions. The chair was taken by Dr Gordon, of Edinburgh, and the subjects of conversation were, "The Indian Missions, and the Conversion of the Jews." The meeting having been addressed by Dr Gordon in a very impressive speech, Lieutenant Jacob, of the Bombay Engineers, gave some account of the progress of the missionary cause in India, in so far as it had fallen within his own experience to judge of it. He was followed by Dr Wilson, of Bombay, who entered into a most interesting description of the missionary efforts now making on the vast continent of India; and also gave a deeply interesting account of his recent tour in Egypt and the Holy Land, and the condition generally of God's ancient people the Jews. Dr Wilson's address lasted nearly two hours, and was listened to with the most profound attention by the audience. The proceedings terminated by an affectionate appeal from Dr Gordon on behalf of the Ladies' Society for the Education of Females in India.

Of the proceedings of the assembly the *Scotsman* says, "There is, to be sure, a deficiency in the Sustentation Fund. In May, Dr Chalmers anticipated that it would yield to the seceding clergymen one-half of their former stipends, which will be about £135. But the pay announced amounts only to £40 for the six months, or £80 per annum. He calculated that 'their own funds'—meaning, we presume, the contributions of their flocks—would amount to as much as the sustentation allowance; but the deficiency here, we imagine, will be as great as in the other branch.

"The falling off in the stipends is not wonderful, considering the vast burden imposed on the adherents of the church by the Building Fund. The number of clergymen who left the establishment was 470; but it was stated that applications had been received from 827 local societies, either actually forming congregations, or desirous to form them. Some will of course be too poor or scanty in numbers; but 600 churches are either actually building, or about to be commenced; and 100 more will be required by-and-by. The churches will contain on an average 600 sittings, and are estimated to cost £500, exclusive of the cost of the site. The expense of erecting 600 will of course be £350,000. The subscriptions towards this object amount to £76,000, transmitted to the Central Fund in Edinburgh, with £90,000 in the hands of local treasurers, and to be locally

applied, making together £166,000. The raising of such a sum could not fail to press heavily, and limit the contributions for stipends. But, besides the £166,000 so raised, nine churches have been built by individuals and presented to the Free Church. Adding the value of these, and of donations of various kinds from Lord Breadalbane, the sum available for church building amounts to £181,000, or fully half the sum required. This is really a mighty effort.

"The grand difficulty of the new Secession will be to provide churches. The sum actually necessary to erect 700 churches, including the cost of sites, will probably not fall short of £500,000. In a multitude of cases, till a place of worship is got, a congregation cannot be formed; and till it is formed, contributions for sustentation, or any other purpose, cannot be well collected. Again, though £166,000 appears on the books as subscribed, we know, from experience, that money subscribed is not exactly equivalent to money collected. These, and other difficulties, may try the patience of the seceders severely, but will, no doubt, ultimately yield to their energy and zeal. The churches once built, their course will be comparatively smooth. Their adherents are much more numerous than we supposed; for the 700 congregations ought, at least, to represent a population of 500,000 souls.

Correspondence.

THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—I have waited till the appearance of the *Nonconformist* for this day (Oct. 11), in the hope that some able pen than mine would have undertaken to refute the arguments contained in the leading article of your number of the 4th instant, respecting the alleged disqualification of women for participating in the privileges of the suffrage; but as no champion of our rights has yet come forward, I trust you will give insertion to a few short remarks I intend to offer on the subject.

The admission that is now reluctantly conceded of the right of women to participate in the suffrage, is a great point gained; for, hitherto, any such right has been strenuously denied. We, however, owe no thanks to any party for this concession, inasmuch as it has been forced on the complete suffragists by their opponents, with whom it has ever been a favourite argument, "that if the principles of complete suffrage were fully carried out, all the population, including minors and women, must have a voice in the representation of their country." It is not, therefore, from any sense of justice, but merely to escape from an insurmountable dilemma, that the right of women, and also that of minors, is conceded; but, though acknowledging their right, their claims are set aside under the plea that the immaturity of the one class, and the sex of the other, is a sufficient bar to their being permitted to avail themselves of the privileges emanating from that right.

Waiving altogether the case of minors, which is completely foreign to the question, inasmuch as their exclusion is only for a limited time, I proceed to notice the arguments advanced to justify the total exclusion of women from the elective franchise. These arguments are founded, it is stated, not on political, but on physical reasons—"not because women have less intellectual or moral fitness than men, but because they are pre-eminently qualified by their sex for other responsibilities, thought to be at variance with any active participation in political warfare." This argument, at first sight, appears very specious, and when adorned with a few fine phrases, respecting "opportunities of usefulness," and the "unique sphere within which a woman wields her potent influence," it seems well calculated to impose on the ignorant and the indolent (who alas! compose a large proportion of the female population), and to impress them with the belief that, though they may be political nonentities, yet in their "unique sphere" they have, or ought to have, a large share of power; and that their cases and responsibilities (some of which are found to be tolerably burdensome), are sufficient for their weak nature, without involving themselves in the turmoil of "political warfare." But if this view of the subject is calculated to impose on the unreflecting, how fallacious does it appear to those who look beyond the mere surface of things, and endeavour to trace the motives which actuate any class in their wish to deprive others of the privileges they themselves enjoy, or are striving to gain! How despicable must such reasoning appear in the eyes of women who know that all these well-sounding words respecting "social and domestic duties," are, as regards by far the greatest portion of the female population, so many deliberate falsehoods; and are, as regards that smaller portion to which with truth they can be applied, only put forward with the view of retaining in subjection (after the anticipated advance of freedom for all men), a class of political helots, subservient to the will of their masters, and unrepresented in the state. In what do these so-called complete suffragists differ from their enemies the aristocrats? In nothing; for the aristocrat is liberal in the extreme to those of his own "order," and the complete suffragist, belonging, as he generally does, to the inferior classes of society, is liberal likewise to himself, and to those of his own class, while he, without compunction, would advocate the enfranchisement of half the population of the kingdom, under the pretence that their "potent influence" ought to be exercised in another sphere! It will, therefore, be well in the first place to inquire what is this boasted "potent influence," possessed by women, or what the "unique sphere" in which it is to be exercised.

This "unique sphere," doubtless, will be interpreted to mean the care of a family, the arrangement of a husband's education of children, and attention to all a husband's or a father's wishes, wants, and caprices—a "sphere" in short, for the development of the character of the housewife, the housekeeper, and the slave. It is a "sphere" indeed which is presented to the eyes of the "complete suffragist" to compensate them for being debarred from the rights of citizens; but when we reflect on the position of women, who, if even so disposed, are excluded from the duties of this sphere, the fallacy of the argument is evident.

To commence with the women of the upper classes—what is their real "sphere"? What duties do they in ge-

neral perform which would be incompatible with the exercise of the elective franchise? With them the sphere of action is the great world (for I do not speak of the occasional exceptions to the general rule which may be met with amongst our female aristocracy), their object is to shine in fashionable society, their lives are passed in a perpetual search after pleasure, and their influence, though frequently "potent," is seldom exercised in "domestic relations," at least in any manner very conducive to the general happiness of their families. Can it, therefore, be contended that the suffrage would "weaken and disturb the harmony of domestic relationships" in this class of society? Certainly not; on the contrary, by giving to women of fortune and leisure a higher interest in life, than the mere frivolities of the day, it would, in all probability, be the best means of increasing their domestic happiness, and be in some measure their safeguard against the dangers that surround the career of the wealthy and unemployed.

Do we seek for a contrast to the condition of the elegant votary of fashion, where still the "domestic relationships" would not be interfered with by the exercise of the suffrage? We shall find it in the condition of the labouring women, whose lives are so fully occupied by incessant toil, as to leave no time for "home duties," and barely sufficient for the scanty rest and refreshment that nature cannot do without. Would the suffrage interfere with the "peculiar cares and responsibilities" of a woman of this class? Certainly not—for if conceded, she would perhaps scarcely be able to avail herself of it; while, if she did avail herself of it, the very exercise of such a privilege could not fail to produce an ennobling effect on a mind almost brutalised by labour and misery.

Again, how could the franchise operate injuriously on the large class of women, who, removed above abject wretchedness, are yet obliged to support themselves by the work of their hands—who have no houses, no families, no "domestic relationships," and who, therefore, as regards their social position, differ in no respect from their fellow labourers amongst men?

Lastly, how could the suffrage injure the extensive and daily increasing class of educated single women, who now live aimless and objectless in the world; but whose energies, if turned in a right direction, would contribute to bring about the most desirable results?

There is one class, however—the class which the writer of the article under consideration doubtless had in view, and the class with which he is probably best acquainted—whose "domestic relations" might, it is possible, be in a slight measure interfered with by the exercise of the franchise. The class I mean is that respectable, though not considerable one, comprising the shopkeepers, the manufacturers, and the less wealthy of the landed gentry. In this class, whose pursuits and interests generally centre in home, the possession of the suffrage might possibly (for it never could necessarily) excite some little disturbance "in the harmony of domestic relations" in a few rare instances; but for the sake of a few possible instances, is it just or reasonable that half the population of the kingdom should be deprived of their acknowledged right? Besides, if difference of sentiment on political matters between members of a family (or rather between wives and husbands, and daughters and fathers, for their differences, especially the former, are the only ones really contemplated) is thought likely to produce such disastrous consequences to the peace of families, what shall be said to another element of domestic discord, most frequently, nay, almost exclusively, confined to the class of which we are speaking—I mean difference of opinion on religious subjects? Will nonconformists be prepared to banish religious profession from society because it has in so many instances been the cause of domestic infelicity? Will they advocate the exclusion of women from what are called religious privileges because their exercise has frequently led to serious differences in hitherto united families? Would they desire to prevent women from leaving what they think a corrupt or heretical church, because their husbands or fathers choose still to continue members of it? or, would the members of any religious society interdict the full and free use of all "means of grace" to the "weaker vessels" of the congregation?

If then religion, the other great mover of society, is found (and of this there can be no doubt) to sow the seeds of discord in families, why should political opinions be more deeply censured if they should, in a few instances, produce the same effect? The cases are parallel as regards the peace of families; but how different as regards the female community! for it may be assumed as a fact, that whenever religious knowledge is encouraged amongst women, to the exclusion of all other interests (excepting the domestic ones) it is intended thereby to keep them in subservience; for even their religious teachers—those from whose exhortations they derive their zeal in spiritual affairs—do not scruple to mingle with their own sacred pursuits the more mundane interests of the nation, or worldly well-being of society at large.

This letter has extended to a length I did not contemplate at its commencement; yet before I conclude, I must be permitted to remark, that any arguments against the enfranchisement of women drawn from the reputed frivolity of the sex, and the influence that would be exercised over their passions, feelings, and natural timidity by men, are untenable. 1st, because if women may sometimes be influenced by vanity or fear to vote contrary to their real sentiments, they are much more disinterested than men, less capable of being bribed, and less liable to be actuated by corrupt or selfish motives; 2nd, because the ballot, to which every complete suffragist looks forward as one of the objects he seeks, would prevent any direct compulsion being used; and 3rd, because many women now occupy themselves with political affairs, and seek to exert a spurious influence respecting them—injurious as all illegitimate influence ever is; but which, if rendered responsible, would, instead of the unreflecting partisanship assumed by some of the most talented of our sex, produce an energetic and decided course of action, having for its object the real interests of the people.

H. M.

THOUGHTS ON THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—Six months ago, at a public meeting in Frome, assembled to consider the celebrated "Factories Education Bill," I made use of this expression—"Whatever the issue of the present struggle, whether the bill pass or be withdrawn, henceforth the rallying cry of all enlightened dissenters must be *Down with the Church!*" The sentiment elicited the prolonged approbation of a

vast assembly, because every one felt that to an established—that is, a compulsory church—the nation was indebted for the wild rush against its religious liberties, couched and disguised under the mock-benevolent clauses of the aforesaid bill; and as it needed no elaborate argument to show the connexion between cause and effect in that memorable case, the impression on every mind was, if we wish not to be periodically alarmed by similar encroachments, we must dry up their source. If this conclusion was warranted by the premises in May, it is equally warranted in October, notwithstanding that the cessation of hostilities may have cooled the patriotism of some hearty applauders. I refer not to the dissenters of Frome, however, in this inference, for, though their parliamentary representative is a poor innocent, in everything but an occasional vote against the prosperity of the town for which he sits, they are sterling nonconformists. But it is one of the unpleasing traits of many who pronounce the names of Milton and Bunyan with filial reverence—boast of their religious relationship to the fathers of American liberty and piety—feel a touch of spiritual heroism as they pass in imagination the fires of Smithfield—and loudly proclaim the sole legislative authority of the Son of God in his own kingdom, that, while imminent danger unites their energies and arouses into action their moral power, they permit the enemy to billet on their resources, and to strengthen, unmolested, his means of future attack. They resist with skill any precipitate sally, but the stronghold of danger is looked on as sacred. Talk of church extension at the national expense, it is opposed and resisted—of church rates, they are voted an abomination, every vestry is besieged by their enemies, and a list of "church-rate martyrs" is exhibited to demonstrate sincerity—of compulsory education by the Anglican priesthood, the Home Secretary turns pale before 20,000 petitions, and entombs the bantling under them—of the assumptions of the clergy and the fooleries of Puseyism, Paternoster row is in a ferment, volume after volume of anti-Puseyite divinity starts from the press, and every effort is made to stem the heresy. All this is right, so far as it goes; success to every such effort, with a hearty Amen! but, will the reader forgive me if I describe himself? Talk to these zealous friends of religious liberty in the following strain:—"The times in which we live are exceedingly critical; the elements of convulsion are gathering on every hand; a crisis approaches; for the interests of religion especially this is apparent; but the scattered opinions of good and wise men—patriots on the basis of Christianity—ought to be gathered into some focus; let us, therefore, summon a convention of such men as fairly represent the nonconformists of these lands, that we may calmly and earnestly deliberate on our duty in reference to the political alliance between the episcopal church and the state."

From men whose hostility to religion by act of parliament is notorious we should naturally expect an accordant response. The propriety and wisdom of the suggestion would seem to be fully vindicated by the character of the times; and the hearty co-operation of those whose able vindications of voluntarism, during the past ten years, have greatly contributed to ripen the public mind for such a suggestion, may surely be relied on. If not the first to suggest a conference of dissenting ministers, they will doubtless hail the thought with gladness and facilitate its purposes. All honour to the editors who have given publicity to, and signified their approval of, your ill-appreciated labours in this most important matter; and to those ministers and correspondents who desire to see the realisation of your design; for in this case, as in many others, "the first shall be last, and the last first," to act.

Perhaps those highly-respected gentlemen who have characterised the calling of a convention as ill-timed, unwise, hasty, revolutionary, &c., will re-consider the matter. Their assent and co-operation are not indispensable, but they are desirable and, let us hope, attainable. The convention will not attack episcopacy, nor churchmen, nor vested rights, nor existing interests; it will deliberate calmly, earnestly, prayerfully, on the best mode of setting a section of the church of God at liberty from its degrading thralldom to the secular power; and on the most efficient plan for ridding statesmen of the annoyance of ecclesiastical matters. The convention, I infer, will have one great object before it, namely, to cut the cord which binds the episcopal church to the state; and as the instrument by which that is to be effected is the sword of the Spirit, why do those who say that the bondage in question dishonours the Redeemer, and injures men, stand aloof? Why, in one word, will intelligent men waste their valuable energies in pruning a noxious tree, when it is in their power for ever to root it up? The cause of truth and righteousness ought not to be thus trifled with. Go on, sir, and may success crown your noble efforts!

Oct. 18th.

W. LEASK.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—In the last number of the *Nonconformist* is a paragraph, stating that "by a late decision" in some court, and by some one who is nameless, "the common device of a thistle and motto 'Dinna Forget,' is defined to be armorial bearings, and subjects the person who uses it to a penalty." Such a decision must have been made in profound ignorance.

Armorial bearings are only such as are blazoned on a shield, and are granted by the Sovereign as rewards chiefly for military services, and such bearings can only be used by the person to whom they are granted, or their descendants; and it is only when they exercise their privilege of using their armorial bearings that they become subject to the tax. To call such a device, as the one in question, armorial bearings, and therefore liable to be taxed, is an absurdity that the veriest novice in heraldry would not have committed; even the crest, the most usual accessory to a coat of arms, is not satisfactorily proved to be armorial bearings, though I believe there exists some diversity of opinion among heralds upon it, yet generally it is held not to be so.

I should not have troubled you with any remarks on the subject, but I felt regret at seeing such an egregious error sanctioned in a paper which shows so great regard for truth as the *Nonconformist*. I could easily produce authorities, from the best writers on heraldry, for the correctness of the above, but will not trouble you further than to suggest the propriety of inserting a few lines, in an early number, explanatory of the matter; by so doing you may prevent many from being misled, and confer a



benefit on a class of artists who are likely to suffer from an erroneous opinion prevailing on the public mind.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,
Edinburgh, 26th October, 1843. H. LAING.

[We gave a simple statement of the decision, copied from another paper, which we hold to be a somewhat different thing from lending a sanction to it. We do not approve of every fact which we may think proper to state.]

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union met on Monday afternoon. The President in the chair.

Letters were read from Salisbury, Kendal, Nottingham, Northampton, Dunstable, Sheffield, Pontefract, Reading, Markinch, Derby, Pontypool, Leeds, Devonport, London.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE IN WALES.—A correspondent of the Council thus writes from Wales:—

"We have at last realised the pleasure (so long anticipated) of Mr Spencer's visit to Monmouthshire, who has proved himself to be, as you predicted, the very man for us. Mr S. lectured on Tuesday at the Town hall, Newport, to an overflowing and attentive auditory, many of whom, after the lecture, admitted their conversion to complete suffrage principles. On Wednesday he lectured at Pontypool, Mr T. Thomas, theological tutor of the baptist college, presided. The lucid and argumentative style, together with the amiable disposition evinced throughout the lecture, won the admiration and esteem of those who even differed on principle. Mr Spencer's audience at this place was not less than 800. The next day Mr S. lectured at Abergavenny to a large assembly, in the English Baptist chapel, where he spoke at much length and great effect; indeed, Mr Spencer's visit throughout has been successful beyond our most sanguine expectations; there could not have been less than 2,000 hearers at the three places.

"I merely write these particulars to show you that, although the people of Monmouthshire have appeared indifferent to their political duty, yet there is material enough, if well organised, to place complete suffrage principles in the foremost ranks at a contested election; we intend immediately canvassing our respective towns, in order to induce electors to join our Union; as yet we meet with nothing but encouragement.

"We are not yet prepared to join your Union, but think it better to mature our own, previous to such a step."

MR BEGGS'S VISIT.—Mr Beggs, having just completed his first visit to the principal towns in the midland counties, gave in a very encouraging account of the state of feeling which generally prevails regarding the suffrage movement. He "finds almost everywhere a strong and a growing feeling in favour of complete suffrage principles;" and although he has met with "a disposition to inactivity, arising, in many instances, from the supposed remoteness of any real and permanent reform," he finds quite "a rage for lectures," and strongly urges the necessity of supporting the complete suffrage press, and circulating cheap complete suffrage tracts.

MARKINCH.—From Markinch, in Scotland, the Council had a communication, enclosing a programme of subjects to be popularly handled at a Complete Suffrage soirée, to be held in that place, on the 3rd Nov. next. The following are the principal subjects referred to:—The cause of complete suffrage; free and full discussion by means of the press and public meetings; honour to Sharman Crawford and the other patriotic supporters of complete suffrage in the house of Commons; individual improvement, the surest foundation of political improvement and national prosperity; the speedy abandonment of compulsory assessments for the support of religion; the education of the people; free trade, the legitimate and certain consequence of complete suffrage; peace societies, and may Christian nations abandon the practice of war; the extinction of feudalism, and abolition of the law of primogeniture; may burgh and county assemblies be made responsible to the people by being elected by them; peaceful agitation the sure means of enlightening the people; honour to the productive classes, and success to the Markinch Complete Suffrage Union.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Thursday, the 19th ult., Mr T. Spencer, A.M., perpetual curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, delivered an able lecture on the principles of complete suffrage, an excellent report of which, occupying five columns and a half, appears in the *Nottingham Review* of Friday. The attendance was gratifying, and all were highly delighted with the eloquence of the lecturer and the catholicity of his sentiments. Mr Samuel Bean occupied the chair. We subjoin one or two interesting extracts from Mr Spencer's address:—

If the audience wanted to know a splendid instance of class legislation, or should any person be there who did not understand what he intended, he would at once state what he meant. In 1795, when the country was engaged in war, William Pitt, the prime minister of the period, wanted more money than the revenue produced, to carry on the war. To obtain supplies, he introduced before parliament two bills for the imposition of legacy duties—one on personal, and the other on real property; that is, the money left by the tradesman was to pay a duty, and the land left by the nobility and aristocracy was also proposed to pay a duty. Now, to legislate upon personal property was to affect chiefly the industrious and labouring classes, and persons of small capital; and therefore, the bill imposing the duty on the money left by tradesmen was readily passed, and became the law of the land, and has been in operation ever since. The simple working of this act he would exemplify by stating, if any of the audience should earn £100, and wish to leave it to a friend, that before that friend could receive it he must pay a legacy duty of £10; and then there are other expenses of administration, &c., which, taking about another £10, will cut the sum of £100 down to £80. Now see what was done with the bill for the imposition of the duty upon the real estate; of course the audience would say, Why, that was passed also. No, that would not do, as it would have affected their own estates; and, as Sir Robert Peel since said respecting a measure, so William Pitt then said, he was not able to carry that bill through the House; so that now, a man may have an estate of 1000 or 100,000 acres of land, and

when he dies the whole shall go to his heir at law, who has not to pay a single penny for duty, while upon every £100 left by a tradesman £10 is paid as legacy duty: whereas, if justice had been done, the landed property would have had to pay some thousands of pounds [applause]. So admirably have the class legislators contrived to make the industrious class the victims of class legislation. Had the Legacy Duty bill been passed upon the real, as the personal property, it would have produced a revenue which, according to a calculation appearing in the *Globe*, London newspaper, and he believed it had never been contradicted, therefore he had a right to assume it to be correct, the amount would have been up to this time 350 millions, or nearly one half of the national debt [hear, hear]; or at all events it would have taken away such an amount as is required now in taxes to pay the interest [applause].

If a man wants to know who is taxed, let him go to a grocer's shop and ask for a pound of tea; and he will find that he has to pay two shillings or two shillings and threepence duty to the grocer, who has previously paid the tax altogether in one lump to the government in London, where the whole is collected ere the tea is sent off to the country [hear, hear]. The price of sugar, if there were no duty, the best lump sugar, would be three-pence halfpenny per pound; the purchaser by retail pays eight-pence or ninepence per pound for it; all, therefore, given above three-pence halfpenny is a tax, except what may be attributed to monopoly [hear, hear]. He had said the people are taxed for sugar, and coffee, and tea; he should like to know what they are not taxed for. If, then, they are to pay taxes, it stands to reason that they should have a voice in the representation. He would ask, who pays the most taxes? If a man pays ten shillings, or half his income, and has but one vote, is he upon an equal footing with the man who pays taxes and income tax, having eight or ten votes? There is a great mistake with those who say the poor are on equal terms with the rich in this respect, as they each have votes only according to the amount in which they are taxed; but it would be a good bargain for the working classes, if they could have votes in proportion to their amount of taxation. Supposing a working man pays half of the twenty shillings he earns in a week, in taxation, and another person receiving £1000 a year pays one-tenth of his income in taxes, who pays the most, the man who pays half his income, or the man who pays one-tenth? Why the man who pays the half, to be sure. He who gives much out of his little imitates the widow who gave her two mites, which made a farthing, of whom it was said, that she gave more than all they who cast into the treasury; thus it is clear, that the poor working man pays more taxes than the richest man in the country [loud applause].

If to give an Englishman a vote would make him overbearing and insulting, the same cause would produce a like effect in America. The extract he would read was from a work by Captain Marryat, who has been in the United States, and whose name as an author will be handed with honour down to posterity:—"In America, the lower ranks are much more civil than in England." These are men who have their civil and political rights, and therefore, according to some in England, ought to be worse than the people of this country. "The insult which you meet with is principally from the emigrant class." If Captain Marryat met any insolent fellow, it was from England, where they have no votes, and not from a person of the United States, where they are treated as men, and have their birthright; and, as the noble lion and the mastiff despise competition with the lower animals, so the Americans, being conscious of their power, scorn to act except as men. Instead of freedom making the people overbearing and quarrelsome, it has made them good-tempered and quiet [hear]. Mr Dickens, well known as "Boz," has also described the people of the United States: he says, a lady may travel from one end of the United States to the other without having offered to her a single insult; and whether she goes by carriage, railway, or steam-boat, if the men are sitting, they are sure to rise and offer a seat to the female. Surely the testimony of these men is sufficient to show that it is all imagination to suppose that the people of this country would become wild brutes if they were to have their votes.

Of the reception Mr Spencer met with, the *Nottingham Review* gives the following gratifying account:—

"We point, with great pleasure, the attention of our readers to the almost *verbatim* report, in our eighth page, of the remarkably interesting speech of Mr T. Spencer, M.A., delivered in the Exchange hall. We do this, not on account of the novelty of the subject introduced, but because the lecture was given in plain and forcible language, and was delivered by a member of the established church. At such a juncture as the present, for a declaration to be made in favour of popular rights by a man of high character, intelligence, and station, and particularly by a clergyman of the richest church in the world, is a matter of no slight consideration. The individuals who composed his numerous audience consisted not so much of the labouring and working classes, as of those who were formerly active and influential whigs. Upon hearing Mr Spencer, these parties joined in the warmest and most enthusiastic applause; and particularly so when the six points of complete suffrage were advocated, viz., the universal right to vote—the ballot—no property qualification—payment of members—equal electoral districts—and annual parliaments. These are indeed signs of the times. Formerly, the Exchange hall was not to be obtained for the delivery of sentiments in favour of chartism; and if the subject was lectured upon at all, it was from a waggon in the Market place, or the window of a room hired for the occasion. The advocates were then depicted as "needy adventurers," and their hearers as "the swinish multitude." But now observe the difference: we have this week had a clergyman declaring the principles of the charter to be essential to the welfare of the country, and the only radical cure for its evils; and a large body of the most respectable portion of the commercial men, manufacturers, traders, and shopkeepers of the town, all joining in one general chorus of approval."

NEWPORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—On Tuesday evening last (says the *Monmouthshire Merlin*), this distinguished and eloquent advocate of complete suffrage (Mr Spencer) delivered a lecture in the great room of our town hall, on the principles of complete suffrage. The weather was very unfavourable, notwithstanding which there was a very large and respectable auditory, among whom were several ladies. It was gratifying, also, to observe the presence of individuals who have been hitherto unaccustomed to give their attendance at public lectures for the dissemination of those truthful and comprehensive doctrines of which the lecturer is one of the ablest and most successful expounders; and this incident has caused the greater satisfaction, as it is one of the many proofs daily occurring that those whose constitutional apathy, or ill-disguised hatred of popular liberty, induced them to be the resolute upholders of "things as they are," are now beginning to reconsider their opinions, and to feel that the honest course of restoring to the people those political rights of which they have been unjustly despoiled, will be in the end for them the best policy, if they are not content to sacrifice, from an insane jealousy of democracy, all the political rights that they themselves enjoy. The chair was taken by the Mayor soon after seven o'clock, when his worship introduced Mr T. Spencer, who was received by the auditory with a burst of applause, and addressed the meeting at considerable length on the principles and objects of the complete suffrage party. We have seldom had the pleasure to hear a more instructive or entertaining discourse, abounding in all the knowledge which has been brought to bear on this impor-

tant subject, and delivered in a continuous uninterrupted current of chaste and most persuasive eloquence, without a single effort to make a display, or to create effect. He was enthusiastically applauded throughout his address. At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr Parry, minister of the gospel, moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried with acclamation, and gratefully acknowledged by Mr Spencer. Mr Lewis Edwards moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which, having been seconded by Mr W. Edwards, bookseller, was carried unanimously.

PONTYPOOL.—Mr Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, the well-known eloquent and popular advocate of the people's rights, delivered a lecture on complete suffrage at the Tabernacle, baptist chapel, Pontypool, on Wednesday last, the 26th. The chapel, which is capable of seating 800, was well filled, the greater part consisting of middle-class electors, who have hitherto shown but little sympathy with the suffrage movement. Mr T. Thomas, theological tutor of the baptist college, was called to the chair, and after making some manly avowals of his attachment to the cause, introduced the lecturer to the meeting, who was loudly applauded. The calm argumentation and convincing eloquence of the lecturer produced an excellent effect, and at the close Mr Spencer was greeted with loud applause. Votes of thanks were then passed and acknowledged, both by the lecturer and chairman. It is surprising and interesting to observe how deeply the sentiments expounded by the lecturer, have already taken root. Many, formerly prejudiced to the movement, have avowed themselves to be now its supporters, many obstacles have been surmounted, difficulties overcome, timid people received strength, and still many more who were utterly averse, both by interested policy and private relationships, to the movement, have been thoroughly convinced. The fire of independence has been again rekindled in Monmouthshire, and we doubt not but that ere long it will spread all over N. and S. Wales. An association is about to be immediately formed, lectures to be delivered monthly, tracts distributed, and every means used to make the principles become universally disseminated. It is thought that Mr Spencer must have addressed, at all his lectures, at least 2,000 persons, and we hope, therefore, that these will be as lights, and cause the darkness which has hitherto hung over our county to be dispersed, and enable us to see the light which has been so long hidden.

ABERGAVERN.—On Thursday, the 26th instant, about 900 of the inhabitants of this town assembled in the baptist chapel, Frogmore street, to hear a lecture from Mr T. Spencer, perpetual curate of Hinton near Bath, on the principles of complete suffrage. The delivery of the lecture occupied two hours, and was listened to with unwearied attention. The vote of thanks to Mr Spencer was carried by acclamation, all, so far as the reporter could see, standing up in expressive signification of their warm approval of the principles so ably expounded and advocated by the devoted lecturer. The chair was taken on the occasion by Mr Thomas, minister of the place. Vigorous measures will at once be adopted to canvass the town and neighbourhood, with a view to the establishment of an efficient complete suffrage union.

LEICESTER.—We are glad to find from the *Leicester Mercury* of Saturday, that the complete suffragists have been on the alert in preparation for the municipal elections, and that there is a prospect not only of most of the wards being contested by them, but that they are likely to return a considerable number of their candidates.

HUDDERSFIELD.—The Complete Suffrage association of this town are going to hold fortnight or monthly meetings, in the Guildhall, for discussion and conversation upon complete suffrage, and other branches of political science.

CUPAR.—The Committee of the Cupar Complete Suffrage association met on the evening of Monday week, to examine the report of the last committee regarding the arrangements made in reference to the course of lectures to be delivered under their auspices. It was reported that answers had been received from the following gentlemen, stating their willingness to give one lecture of the proposed course, viz.—Mr Halley, Markinch; Mr Gorrie, Kettle; Mr Taylor, St Andrews; Messrs Cairns, Rankine, Burnet, and Johnstone, Cupar; J. G. Stuart, Esq., Balgonie; and Mr Dickson, teacher, Cupar; and that favourable answers were still expected from others to whom the committee had written requesting their assistance. In consequence of so many gentlemen having expressed their willingness to deliver a lecture, the committee unanimously agreed to begin the course on Thursday the 16th of next month. After transacting other unimportant business, they adjourned to that day fortnight.—*Fife Herald*.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.—The House of Commons ought to make laws for the proper discipline of the people; but hitherto it has lacked the vigour, method, and earnestness of purpose, to determine even on a scheme for the instruction of the country's children! The House is so heedless of the national welfare, that, in the pursuit of paltry, fallacious objects, it will neither govern nor let others govern. Obviously, the way to mend the product, the legislature, is to mend the productive power, the constituency; and to that end there appears to be no course open but the admission of new elements—an extension of the franchise. We may keep "muddling" on for a few years, but to that we must come at last.—*Spectator*.

General News.

FOREIGN.

SPAIN.

Accounts from Madrid come down to the 22nd, but possess but little interest. It was expected that the Chambers would be constituted on the 24th, when the ministry were expected to present a communication relative to the majority of the Queen. On the assent of the Chambers being given to the proposal, a day will be appointed on which the Queen will repair to the palace of the Cortes and solemnly take the oath to the constitution. After having accomplished this important object, the present ministry intend to resign their posts, and a new cabinet, of which M. Olozaga and General Serrano are expected to form part, will be organized.

In the chamber of Deputies, on the 21st, Count de las Navas announced his intention, the moment the house should be constituted, to put a question to ministers respecting an act of violence committed by some military, who had torn down bills posted up in the streets of Madrid, advertising for sale a work illustrative of the persecution of the liberal press. He declared that the liberty of the press was menaced. Instead of the home minister getting up and coolly stating the facts, and the nature of the pamphlet, General Narvaez rose and cavalierly told Las Navas that the liberty of the press could not possibly be in danger, as "long as the military at present garrisoning Madrid continued to do so." This reply was echoed by the home minister, who declared that as long as the present ministers sat on their benches there was no danger for the press or for any other liberty.

In Cadiz the election of the provincial deputation was about to be immediately proceeded with, that city having to name two provincial deputies and two substitutes. It was probable that the so-called "parliamentary party," or adherents of the provisional government, would carry this as well as the parliamentary election. The *pronunciamiento* of Almeria, as well as that of Granada, had been positively suppressed. At Seville, notwithstanding the numerous arrests, and the arbitrary and despotic proceedings of the authorities, a rising in favour of the central junta was again threatened, and on the 9th and 10th instant there was paraded a display of military force which indicated the most extraordinary precautions.

The important city of Leon has pronounced in favour of a central junta in spite of the troops. The provisional junta having sent out an officer on the 17th to inquire into the intentions of General Senosain, who had arrived under the walls of the city at the head of some troops, the latter dismissed the envoy, telling him that he had come to chastise the revolters. The junta, in accord with the commander-in-chief, ordered two companies of the regiment of Leon, forty carbineers, and a column of volunteers to attack the enemy. At midnight they marched out, and at half-past two o'clock, a.m., they surprised and routed the government force, and captured 100 horses, with part of the infantry. Another column took prisoners five privates of the regiment of the constitution, Brigadier Llorente, Colonel Sigismond Pujol, and Commander Llanderac. This event will give an impulse to the centralists, and the Leon movement may become formidable, particularly from its proximity to Galicia.

Instead of thinking of surrendering, the insurgents of Barcelona had attacked the citadel. The following is the substance of the telegraphic despatches received on Monday:—

"PERPIGNAN, OCT. 26.—The batteries of the city of Barcelona having thrown into Gracia a number of projectiles, by which several persons were killed, the Captain-general caused 1,000 cannon-balls and grenades to be fired, on the 25th, against the points occupied by the insurgents. The greatest disorder prevailed at Barcelona; the junta continued to force open and plunder the stores of the cloth merchants, provision venders, and copper-smiths. Valencia was tranquil on the 22nd. On the 23d the junta of Barcelona seized on 60,000*l.*, belonging to the medical school, and possessed itself of copper to an amount of 150,000*l.*, and of cloth of the value of upwards of 250,000*l.* Several provision stores were plundered. Massanet, a member of the supreme junta, and an individual of the name of Aymar, attached to the junta of armament, have quarreled. The former was wounded in the head with a bottle; his life is in danger. The disorder increases. It is feared that Barcelona will be visited by great disasters. Firing at Girona was heard this morning at Figueras."

"PERPIGNAN, OCT. 27.—Prim opened his fire against Girona on the 25th, and gained possession of the suburb of Pedres. The firing continued yesterday. Martell marched yesterday out of the fort of Figueras, at the head of 350 men."

The correspondent of the *Chronicle*, in a letter dated the 20th ult., Barcelonetta, gives the following particulars of the siege of Barcelona:—

"On the 18th Montjuich regaled us all the day with throwing shells into the centre of the city, the Plaza St Jaime, where the Junta hold their sittings. Yesterday all was quiet, but at an early hour this morning the citadel commenced heavily cannonading (and has continued throughout the day) a battery which had been thrown up by the Junta, and has now pretty well succeeded in destroying it. All this is a very pretty commentary on the Captain-general's assertion that he did not wish to injure the city, in the face of which already have some 5,000 to 6,000 shot and shell been discharged, being about six times as much as Espartero threw in December last; and which drew down upon him such severe strictures and indignation from the very men who now act with far greater inhumanity. The appearance of Barcelona from hence is most melancholy, for nothing meets the eye but houses, some entirely destroyed, others partially down, and others riddled with shot; and the misfortune is, that they compose the finest quarter of the city, the 'Plaza' del Palacio; the palace of the

captain-general, and the Exchange, are much injured; the latter fine building has been struck by upwards of 300 cannon balls; its great strength, being built of stone, alone prevents its falling to the ground."

A letter from a Bayonne correspondent of the *Chronicle* states that Concha cannonaded Saragossa on the 23d and 24th; that on the 24th the municipality came out and proceeded to Concha's head-quarters, to arrange, if possible, terms of surrender. On the 25th no firing was heard at Tudela, where the firing of the previous days was distinctly heard, so that the surrender of Saragossa was hourly expected at Bayonne.

FRANCE.

The *Commerce* announces that the superior committee on the fortifications of Paris, in concert with the War office, is at this moment preparing a statement which is not without importance; it relates to the effective of the troops which are to compose the garrison, and likewise of the armament necessary for the detached forts of the capital. It appears that the Parisian citadels will occupy in time of peace an army of 24,800 men, which, united with the garrison of the military establishments of the *enceinte continue*, as well as those of the interior of Paris, will form an effective of more than 60,000 men to guard the free city of Paris, and will be armed with 1,262 cannon, composed in part of eighty pounders and mortars, capable of throwing their projectiles into the centre of Paris. In consequence of the increase of troops demanded by the fortifications of Paris, it is in contemplation to augment the artillery and engineer force, as well as the municipal guard."

It is not in external fortifications only that the French government is preparing to meet internal enemies. "If the Faubourg St Antoine," observes *La Réforme*, "be not well guarded, it will certainly not be for want of guard-houses, barracks, small forts, and other advanced works. Every day some new project of fortification is devised for that quarter. This military establishment will thus be converted into a real citadel, being protected by a wall pierced with loopholes. It will be the first barrack of the kind constructed in Paris."

The quarrel between the church and university respecting education has recommenced. The Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Bonald, and the Bishops of Chalons and Langres, are the principal opponents of the university. The *Chronicle* says—"The present French ministry has gone to the furthest possible limits in contenting and pleasing the church. Even M. Guizot made no opposition, when protestant communities were terrified and dispersed by the police. The clerical party were made use of here and there in the elections at home, and were encouraged in political *propaganda* abroad, especially in establishing and extending French influence over the churches and Christians of Asia Minor and Syria. But the government has begun to find catholicism an ally which will not be contented with small gratification or advantages, or less, in short, than an ample share of power. It now insists on decentralising and destroying the national system of education. Cardinal Bonald, of Lyons, now goes much further than Archbishop Affre, of Paris. He demands not merely equality and rivalry between church schools and university schools, he demands the supremacy of the clergy over the university schools; M. d'Affre asked for independence; M. Bonald wants to have domination."

The *Réforme* mentions a rumour that the Duke and Duchess de Nemours intended to leave Paris for London on the 10th November; and connects this visit to Queen Victoria with the state of Ireland! The *Times* correspondent ridicules that notion, and thinks it more probable that it may have something to do with the Duke of Bordeaux's visit to England!

ITALY.

On the 8th of last month several military posts were attacked in the lower city. Similar outbreaks were said to have occurred in other parts of the province; and Cardinal Spinola was so much alarmed at the hostile dispositions evinced by the Bolognese, that he applied for leave of absence, and quitted the city. On the tenth he was succeeded *ad interim* by Cardinal Vannicelli Casoni. Three physicians, and several landowners of the districts traversed in August last by Muratori's band, had been arrested. The prisons of Bologna contained seventy political offenders, and fifty more were detained at Pesaro until they could be safely removed to fort San Leo. It was reported, that in a recent congregation of cardinals, held at Rome to consider the situation of the legations, Cardinal Bernelli recommended that concessions be made to the people, and a general amnesty granted to all persons implicated in political conspiracies since 1831. This proposition, however, was rejected, by the almost unanimous vote of the assembly.

The *Times* of Thursday says, "We are led to suppose, by information which has reached us from Vienna, that Count Radetsky, at the head of a detachment of about 4,000 Austrian troops, has ere this entered the papal territories. The disturbances which have lately broken out in the Legations have forcibly attracted the attention of the cabinet, not only of Vienna, but of Turin and Florence, to a state of things pregnant with danger to their own states and to the general peace of Italy. An active exchange of couriers has consequently taken place between these three courts within the last few weeks, and the result is said to be a joint determination on the part of the Austrian and Piedmontese governments to intervene in support of the papal authority against the revolutionary movements of the republican party, but with an express stipulation that the Pope shall forthwith consent to those administrative reforms in his dominions without which no permanent tranquillity can be maintained in Italy."

The *Paris Réforme* has a letter from Trieste, of the 18th ult., which states that a strong body of Austrian troops actually had advanced to the Roman frontier; while a French fleet was looked for at Ancona, to balance the Austrian intervention. In the mean time, the papal government is mad enough to enforce oppressive financial measures.

AMERICA.

Advices from America, by the Acadia steamer, and George Washington packet-ship, have been received from New York to the 9th ult.

Governor Jones, of Tennessee, had published his message to the legislature of that state. In it he deprecated the doctrine of repudiation, and strongly enforced the prompt meeting, on the part of the state, of all its engagements.

The elections were in favour of the whigs. In Georgia they were entirely successful. In New Jersey the loco-focos claimed to have elected the whole five members of Congress. In Ohio the whigs were again foremost. In Pennsylvania the whigs were elected.

The following is from the *New York Evening Express*:—

"The recent elections in Tennessee and Maryland have settled the political character of the United States senate the coming session, making it whig, and thus making impossible any great or radical change in the tariff of duties. In all probability the Tariff act will stand another year, at least, nearly as it is."

"The recent elections are unexpectedly favourable to the whig party, giving them almost a positive assurance, that against Mr Van Buren as the candidate, Henry Clay will be elected president of the United States, which, as it regards the tariff, will not make much difference to Europeans, Mr Clay being the avowed friend of American protection, and Mr Van Buren, from the necessities of his position, a shuffling friend."

News from Valparaiso had been received to the 3d of July. The south of Peru was then not quiet. The exiled General Santa Cruz had retired from Ecuador, where he has, till recently, resided, to New Granada, that his presence might not injure the treaty in contemplation between Bolivia and Ecuador.

CANADA.

A packet ship, which left New York on the 2nd ult., and arrived at Liverpool on Thursday, brings accounts of the opening of the Canadian parliament, on the 28th September. Sir Charles Metcalfe's speech is full of suggestions of local improvements, and administrative improvements are promised in the shape of government measures; but it indicates no other general line of policy. The following is an extract:—

"The act of the imperial legislature which facilitates the introduction of Canadian wheat, and of flour prepared in Canada, into the ports of the United Kingdom, will, I trust, prove to be a valuable boon to this province. Measures will be submitted to you for the improvement of the system of judicature in Lower Canada, of the municipal institutions, the laws relating to education, and the jury system of both divisions of the United Province, and of the assessment laws in Upper Canada, as well as on other important subjects, all of which will, I am sure, engage your earnest attention. I have recently made a tour through the province, such as the exigency of public business would permit, in order that I might become in some degree acquainted with local circumstances requiring attention. I have had great gratification in seeing a fine country, evidently advancing in improvement; and have everywhere been received with manifestations of loyalty to our gracious Sovereign, and with personal kindness to myself. It has been highly satisfactory to me to witness the great works in progress. In those parts where works of this description are in progress, I found contentment prevailing at the prospect which they present. In other parts there is a cry for improved roads for the conveyance of produce to appropriate markets, a claim which is worthy of consideration; for on such communications the prosperity of the country must in a great measure depend."

There seems to be no doubt that the seat of government will be transferred from Kingston to Montreal, the natural seat of the Canadian metropolis.

A bill had been brought into the Canadian parliament for the suppression of Orangeism throughout the province.

Another bill had been brought up by Mr Lafontaine, the attorney-general for Canada west, to disqualify place-holders for election to the provincial parliament.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Most important advices were received from the Cape of Good Hope on Monday morning. The dates are to the 22nd of August, and the accounts announce the interesting fact "that Natal had been pacificated." On the 7th of August a meeting was held by emigrant farmers at Pretermauritzberg, and there the terms of his excellency's proclamation for the settlement of the Natal affairs had been accepted. Thus the supremacy and authority of her Majesty has been acknowledged and restored, and thus by conciliation the great work of pacification is concluded. The *Zuid African* of the latest date on this subject remarks:—"Every colonist, on this highly satisfactory news becoming known, sincerely rejoiced at the issue, and gave vent to expressions of gratitude towards his excellency, and those who aided him in bringing about so desirable an event."—*Chronicle*.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

A BULL FIGHT FOR PIOUS USES.—The Queen of Spain and her sister were present, on the 13th ult., at a bull fight, given for the object of procuring funds to build a church at Chamberi, near Madrid. The sport was magnificent. Eight bulls were killed, and twelve horses remained on the ground gored and disembowelled. The performance lasted three hours, and produced upwards of £1,000.

VISIT FROM LOUIS PHILIPPE.—The *Commerce* states that it would appear, from a reply made lately to a contractor by the minister of marine, that his Majesty proposes next year to return the visit of her

Majesty the Queen of England. The reply was—"We cannot undertake the works you wish to contract for, as in that case we should not have funds to arm the royal yacht, which is to transport his Majesty to England next year." A private letter mentions a report that the visit will take place "even sooner."

The *Universal German Gazette* states, that at Trieste and Venice a special commission is occupied in making an inquiry respecting the importation of British cottons, in consequence of information received that a considerable quantity of English cotton, although prohibited, had been smuggled into those ports. Strong measures are in future to be taken to prevent the recurrence.

Letters from Berne, of the 21st inst, state that the grand council of Lucerne insists on the restoration of the Argovian convents, probably at foreign instigation. Lucerne is a catholic canton, and its government is at present the *vorort*, or executive, of Switzerland; so that the other cantons would have to begin resistance to the dictate by refusing to recognise the central government for the time being; which threatens the very constitution of the united states of Switzerland.

GREECE.—King Otho, according to report, is incapable of comprehending his real position. From the following extract of a letter dated from Athens on the 10th inst, it does not appear precisely what the King's intentions were, but it is plain that he is in a very bewildered state. It is only to be hoped that, as he can't rule Greece, Greece will quietly rule him, until he is finally disposed of in some friendly way:—

"We had some agitation last night in the city. Genneos, a King's aide-de-camp, the son of Colcotroni, a man exceedingly devoted to Russia, took it into his head to compromise his Majesty, in leading him to believe that a counter-revolution would be attempted in the barracks. At midnight the King sent for two companies to insure his personal safety, and at the same time informed the representatives of the powers that he should oppose all attempts at revolution. MM. Piscatory and Lyons immediately repaired to the palace, and showed the King that he had been too credulous, and that the man who had thus led him astray ought to be punished. In fact, Genneos's object was to cause disorder, and to compromise the King. Fortunately, the tranquillity of men's minds is so great, that, in spite of this intrigue, not a soldier or civilian ever thought of disturbance. There is, however, some uneasiness felt, lest the King's perspicuity should be at fault, and he may thus bring about some crisis, notwithstanding the proper state of the public mind."

BERLIN, OCT. 24.—When his Majesty the Emperor of Russia received information at Moscow of the insurrection at Athens, he ordered M. Kalakazy, the Russian ambassador at the Greek court, to be removed from his post:

INCREASE OF THE ARMY.—An augmentation of the cavalry regiments has just been decided on by the government. Eight men are to be added to the present strength of each troop. This measure is to be carried into effect with the least possible delay.—*United Service Gazette*.

CAN IT BE TRUE?—We are enabled to state upon authority that her Most Gracious Majesty and her Majesty the Queen Dowager have discontinued their private boxes at Covent Garden theatre, in consequence of the meetings of the Anti-corn-law League being held therein.—*Post*.

WESLEYAN COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.—The special committee appointed by conference to take into their consideration the subject of day schools, was summoned to meet in London on the 31st ult. (yesterday). We perceive from the fifth report of the Wesleyan committee of education, presented to the last conference by the able secretary, the Rev. Robert Newstead, that the day schools of the Wesleyans, as well as their Sunday schools, are yearly on the increase. The following is the return:—

Boys' day schools, 141; Girls' day schools, 121; Infant schools, 28; making a total of 290 day schools, with 20,804 scholars; and 3,797 Sunday schools, with 401,383 scholars; making a grand total of 4,087 schools, with 422,187 scholars. The whole presenting the following summary, viz.:—

Increase of day schools	28
Increase of Sunday schools	243
Total increase of schools	271
Increase of day scholars	2,271
Increase of Sunday scholars	23,383
Total increase of scholars	25,654

Twenty-eight teachers have been trained under the auspices of the committee, principally in Mr Stow's excellent training school at Glasgow; and the schools over which they now preside give great satisfaction to the educational committee.

DEFINITION OF A NEWSPAPER.—"We are to-day compelled," says an American editor, "in consequence of the misapprehension of many of our readers, to define what a newspaper is. It is (and let those in arrears for the last quarter mark it well) a luxury which those who cannot afford to stomp down in advance, or pay promptly on the day their quarter is up, should never for a moment think of indulging in."

A NEW RAILROAD.—A fellow in Kentucky, with a railway imagination, wants to know how long it will be before they open the *equinoctial line*!

LIFTS TO LAZY LAWYERS.—Q. What is a base fee, and why so called? A. Ten and sixpence, for then the clerk gets nothing. Q. What is the difference between a fine and a recovery? A. A fine is five shillings for being drunk; a recovery is the feeling when you come to, and find yourself in the station-house. Q. What animals come under the description of "game"? A. Timid witnesses, female defendants, and the Cock in Fleet street. Q. What is parliament? A. A kind of cake; for a large assortment see the House of Commons.—*Punch*.

Postscript.

Wednesday, Nov. 1st.

The *Gazette* of last night contains official notifications from the Speaker of the vacancies in the representation of Salisbury, and of the county of Kilkeny, by the deaths of Mr Wadham Wyndham, and Mr George Bryan, and directs in the usual way the issue of the writs for new elections at the end of fourteen days.

SOUTH WALES.—The only news from South Wales is the account of a meeting of farmers held at Pentre, where about 900 were assembled. Mr Gibbs was called to the chair, and several gentlemen, including two dissenting ministers, addressed the meeting. A memorial to her Majesty was adopted, attributing the depressed state of the country to commercial restriction, and praying her to dissolve parliament.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT HADDINGTON.—On Friday, Messrs Cobden, Bright, and Ashworth visited this agricultural district. The meeting was held in the secession church, which holds about 900 persons, and was crowded. A considerable number of farmers from the neighbourhood were present. Mr George Hope, of Fenton Barns (author of the Anti-corn-law Prize Essay), took the chair. After the delivery of speeches by the deputation, the usual free-trade resolutions were put and carried, with but one dissentient.

IRELAND.

THE STATE TRIALS.—It has been usual to summon a special jury in extraordinary cases like the present. It is now stated that the attorney-general, instead of a special jury, will apply for the grand panel of the city, from which a jury is to be struck in the ordinary way.

THE ARBITRATION COURTS.—The provincial papers give further accounts of the proceedings of the arbitration courts, which seem to have a considerable share of business. All the reports state that the suitors are perfectly satisfied with the decisions, and that the litigating parties are saved a good deal of expense by this mode of settling disputes. On Wednesday next the City of Dublin Arbitration court is to hold its first sitting in Brunswick street. The arbitrators are Mr O'Connell, Mr Cornelius M'Loughlin, and Mr T. O'Brien, the lord mayor elect.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—The weekly meeting of the association took place at the Conciliation hall, on Monday, which was well filled. John Molony, Esq., of Crag, ex-J.P., was called to the chair. The expected additions to the association from the whigs were not made. Mr O'Connell, however, read a letter from the Archbishop of Cashel, announcing his adhesion to the Repeal association. He then handed in £100 from Quebec, remarking—in any event there should be no rebellion in Ireland, and there would then be presented the strong contrast, that rebellious Canada had free institutions and a local government, and that Ireland, which did not rebel, was refused even an inquiry into her grievances. Mr Balfie said he had a great deal of information relative to the conduct of landlords to their tenants, but it was thought the same might be brought under the notice of the special commission about to be issued, rather than making it public. Mr O'Connell then read the following communication from Mr Sturge:—

TO THE IRISH REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

"A note of mine addressed to your chairman, accompanying a resolution passed at a meeting at Birmingham, was read by him at the meeting of your association on the 16th inst, in which I expressed the opinion, 'that a more favourable state of public feeling towards Ireland never existed.'"

"This opinion subsequent events have confirmed, but in order to render this favourable state of feeling available, the people of England should have a clear and full explanation of the objects of the Repeal association, and a disposition should be evinced candidly to examine and adopt every measure that is calculated to conciliate mutual good will among the people at large. Some of the best friends of Ireland in this country are much in want of precise information as to what is sought for by the repealers. If it is intended to make Ireland a separate and independent nation, it cannot be expected that there ever will exist in England any general co-operation in favour of such a measure. She is herself suffering from the same oligarchy which inflicts so much misery on the sister kingdom, and the united efforts of the whole British people are required to terminate its oppressions."

"But if it be clearly and distinctly understood that Ireland only seeks to have the control of her own affairs, leaving the decision of all questions involving the interest of the united kingdom to the imperial legislature; the object is so just in principle and so needful in its application to Ireland, that I am persuaded it would, if properly placed before the English people, soon command their support."

"The recent despotie proceedings of the government, the wise and prompt measures taken by the leaders of the repeal movement to preserve peace, and their universal observance by the people of Ireland under circumstances of exasperation that might have led to the most fearful consequences, all conspire to encourage a general disposition on this side the channel to a more favourable consideration of your just claims."

"As one who ardently desires full justice to Ireland, it is my earnest hope that nothing may be said or done that might tend to excite a national feeling of hostility towards England, and allow me to express my deep regret that it should be stated such a feeling exists in the minds of Englishmen towards Ireland. It is true we have not evinced that sympathy for the wrongs of Ireland which we ought to have done; but the people are not inimical to each other, and they have one strong bond of union—that of suffering from the same oppressors. The peaceful and constitutional manner in which the people of Ireland are seeking to obtain justice has justly excited great admiration, and it is my conviction that if the same course is firmly maintained it will eventually unite the wise and good in all parts of the United Kingdom, in combined efforts, that will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be crowned with success; and, while securing to Ireland all that the most ardent of her friends, who are ranged under the banner of repeal, can desire, will more firmly consolidate her with England in all that constitutes a great empire."

"Very respectfully,

"JOSEPH STURGE.

"Birmingham, 27th of the 10th month."

That letter contained admirable matter, and he was sure it would be hailed by the association, and by all Ireland, as a document of the most extreme value. It suggested plans which, if acted upon, would tend to consolidate the interests of the two countries. He

(Mr O'Connell) was delighted to see that the people of England were beginning to see that the Irish, in asking for repeal, were only asking for justice, for their rights, and that they were determined to obtain those rights by peaceable means [hear, hear]. Force or violence, though they might remove one mischief, left many behind, and created more than they removed. He and all the members of the Repeal association would feel, he was sure, grateful to Mr Sturge and his colleagues for their sympathy and offers to join them in their struggle (that was, upon certain terms) to obtain the repeal of the union [hear, hear]. Mr Sturge had spoken of English sympathy, but he (Mr O'Connell) would ask, had any of the great towns in England, save Birmingham and Preston, made any demonstration for them? Had London done so? Had Manchester, or Liverpool, or Leeds done so? [cheers]. Let not Mr Sturge blame the people of Ireland because they judged of Englishmen only by their acts, because they could not place confidence in them. He (Mr O'Connell) believed the English people acted more from ignorance than design; but it was his complaint that they would not take the trouble of being rightly informed as to the real state of the people of Ireland. If there were no other topic to urge in favour of repeal, the fact would be sufficient, that the governing people were radically ignorant and careless of the state of the country governed. As to separation he repudiated it, but he wished to prevent the possibility of it by getting repeal. There should be no rebellion in Ireland, no civil war, or, what was worse, a servile war; a war from cottage to cottage, from town to town [cheers]. The hon. gentleman proceeded at great length to meet the objections of Mr Sturge, and to show there was no fear of separation. He spoke of America, and the offer of reconciliation made, when too late, by the British government to the insurgents in that country, as a warning to government, and advised Mr Sturge to remember it. He thought it would be politic in the English statesman to ask Ireland what she wanted, and he (Mr O'C.) would answer, that she merely wanted the management of her own affairs, and did not desire to take anything from the Crown prerogatives. He called on Mr Sturge for an explanation of what imperial questions were. If he meant the management of the colonies, he (Mr O'Connell) would tell him that the colonies were the fiefs of the Crown, and the absolutism of the Crown right was only qualified by charter—the dependencies, which included 100,000,000 of people, were the property of the Crown, and all Ireland would ask was liberty to trade with them [hear]. Ireland was big enough for them. She was all they required. They would take nothing less [loud cheering for some minutes]. Mr O'Connell concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

"1. That the effect and purport of the repeal of the union consists in the parliament of Ireland having the entire legislative control of the affairs of the Irish nation."

"2. That the basis of the repeal of the union consists, and shall consist, in the perpetual connexion with Great Britain, through the medium of their common sovereign, Queen Victoria, and her heirs and successors, and through the undoubted prerogatives of her and their imperial crown, in peace and in war."

"3. That another basis of the repeal of the union shall be the perfect equality of civil rights and franchises of every description, between all Christian sects and persuasions whatsoever; and no power shall be committed or entrusted to the Irish parliament to make any law derogatory to the civil rights and franchises of any individual or class, by reason of his or their creed or religious profession."

"4. That the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to Mr Sturge, and that he be requested to state what the questions are, involving the interests of the United Kingdom, exclusive of those which come within the range of the royal prerogative."

The motion was seconded and carried, after which, Mr O'Connell, amid loud cheering, announced the repeal rent for the week to be £1,141 19s. The meeting then adjourned till Monday next.

SPAIN.—INSURRECTION AT VIGO.—By the Pasha steam vessel, arrived yesterday at Southampton, in four days from Vigo, intelligence has been received of an insurrectionary movement in that town, which, though few particulars of it have been obtained, seems to have assumed an important character. Captain Wilson states that he brought with him, as passenger from Lisbon to Vigo, General Yriarte, one of Espartero's officers, and that he came to Vigo on the invitation of the party which began the movement. Fighting had commenced on the 24th inst, and from that time to the arrival of the Pasha the city was in the possession of the national guard, who had originated the attack. As soon as General Yriarte landed, he placed himself at their head. In the battle which occurred between the national guard and the government regular troops, the latter were worsted, but only one life was lost, and the colonel commanding the government troops was wounded in the thigh. On the landing of General Yriarte great enthusiasm was displayed, and a firing of rockets took place.

The *Barcelona Constitutional* states that, in the course of the 22nd, 1,351 projectiles were thrown into the town by the four surrounding forts, viz., 824 cannon balls, and 527 grenades. On the banner hoisted by the besieged was inscribed, "The Central Junta or Death!"

The *Journal des Débats* publishes a letter from Bayonne of the 26th ult., stating that it was reported in the morning of that day that General Concha had entered Saragossa.

This intelligence, however, is of very doubtful authenticity. A Teflis letter, dated the 19th of September, represents the affairs of Russia in Circassia as becoming hourly less promising.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 1,680 quarters; of foreign, 2,600 quarters. The market is very dull, and a slight abatement in price has taken place.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Humanitas." Next week.

"A Protestant Nonconformist." We cannot find room for his letter.

"E. C. C." does not seem clearly to understand the distinction made in the article in question.

Our Coventry correspondent is informed that we copied the article from a daily paper, and have reason to believe that the parties in question were dissenters, not churchmen.

In reply to a note received from Crediton, we beg to state that it is not usual with us to acknowledge reports of speeches otherwise than by inserting them. Had the meeting referred to been reported in our paper, we should have done justice to our correspondent.

"E. Watkins, Swansea." We really cannot occupy our columns with such appeals, in any other form than as an advertisement.

"W. C." We are not quite convinced of the expediency, at least amidst so much distraction as prevails at present, of the plan he proposes.

"One not Without Hope" must excuse us. We fully concur in the sentiments of his letter, but as we are constantly advocating them in leading articles, we think it scarcely necessary to reiterate them in letters.

"Popicola" declined.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOV. 1, 1843.

SUMMARY.

HER Majesty and Prince Albert have paid their promised visit to Cambridge, from which place they returned to Windsor on Saturday last. The cloistered ecclesiastics and literati of that University, who usually live in a very narrow and rather musty world of their own, seem to have had their heads turned by the too potent fumes of the honour conferred upon them. Intoxicated with the draught, it is not wonderful that their proceedings had about them a certain air of ridiculousness and burlesque—that there was a very undue proportion of mummery, and a very small admixture of grave and reasonable behaviour—that shouting, dressing, speechifying, and exhibition of puerile spectacles should have been deemed the fittest homage to be paid by a seat of learning and of religion to the Queen and her royal consort; and that addresses full of adulation, after the manner of ecclesiastical courtiership in the days of James the First, should be offered, amongst more substantial realities, to the regal pair. What impression these things may have made upon her Majesty's mind it is not for us to conjecture. The nation at large, one should think, will be disposed to laugh in its sleeve at the fulsome excess of loyalty which converted grey and titled gowmsmen into babblers of compliments which have no meaning, and which elevated rank and office to an immense superiority over the memory of pre-eminent intellect and saint-like virtue. Shade of John Milton! if it were given thee to look down upon the scene enacted under the mulberry-tree planted by thine own hand, what must have been thine estimate of the enlightenment and manhood of those who bore the principal part in that performance!

At the latter end of last week report gave out that our government, grown suddenly paternal, were about to abandon their prosecutions in Ireland, and to try conciliation upon a broad scale. The report was incorrect. No such leniency is meditated. Quite the reverse. The ministerial organ in Dublin rejoices in the assurance that legal proceedings will be pushed with extraordinary vigour. Every effort, it seems, will be made to prevent the parties now held to bail from traversing to the next term. The panel from which the special juries are to be selected is of the most exclusive and party character. Mr O'Connell, however, appears nothing daunted. With that versatility, which unfortunately he has too frequently evinced, he has thrown federalism overboard, and set sail once more for a repeal of the union. Mr Smith O'Brien and Archbishop Cashel have already given in their adhesion to the Repeal association. Mr Ross, member for Belfast, Mr Sheil, member for Tipperary, and Mr Wyse, member for Waterford—the two latter connected with the late whig administration—are likely, it is said, to join them. It is understood that the whigs hold themselves ready to grant a federal parliament to Ireland. Panting for office, and unable to take it, even at the downfall of the present administration, on less liberal terms, they are evidently pushing their outposts beyond them, that they may presently occupy a safe, and, seemingly, a reasonable ground. They are wise in their generation. Federalism

would cost them less, as an aristocracy, than a total repeal of the corn laws, or a complete extension of the suffrage. Entering into office with a special view to Ireland, and satisfying, as they doubtless would satisfy, Mr O'Connell and the Irish people, they would be strong enough to pass a fixed duty in spite of the League, and to sneer at all attempts at organic reform in the face of complete suffragists and the working classes. This strikes us as their game. The proposal of the Anti-corn-law League to visit every borough constituency, and to form a party independent of both political factions, has frightened them. If they can gain Ireland by federalism, they regard themselves as safe against the now formidable party of the people in England. To profess much, therefore—more, as Mr Warburton said at Kendal, than can be accomplished in the present generation—that they may put themselves into a position to be able to do little, is a system of tactics they are not unlikely to adopt. Let all parties take warning in time, unless all would be again the victims of delusion.

Two royal commissions have been opened in South Wales—the one at Cardiff for the administration of the law to offenders—the other at Carmarthen, for inquiry into the grievances of the people. The first was presided over by Baron Gurney—the other is conducted by Frankland Lewis, Esq., a poor-law commissioner. The judge, in his charge to the grand jury, took it for granted that if men had whereof to complain, nothing was easier for them than to obtain justice from courts of law, and magistrates assembled in quarter sessions. Tumult, consequently, he described as utterly inexcusable. If the remedy is so easy—if the laws afford so ample a shield of protection, what business, we ask, has Mr Frankland Lewis in South Wales, armed with authority from the government to inquire into the grievances of its inhabitants? The opening address of the commissioner—a kindly and conciliatory one, we may mention by the way—stands in direct antagonism to the charge of the judge. Baron Gurney has finished his work, and awarded punishment to the culprits whom he tried. It now remains to be seen what Mr Lewis will do to render special commissions for the trial of offences in future unnecessary.

The League has been active in agitation during the past week. At Covent Garden theatre, on Wednesday evening, they sang their song of triumph for their recent electoral victory in the city of London. At Manchester, Durham, Cockermouth, and Haddington, large meetings have been held. Sir Robert Peel, too, in his own covert manner, has come to their aid, and preached the doctrines of Mr Cobden with little variation, save certain egotisms which it is impossible for him to omit, concerning free trade, manufacturing markets, and improved methods of agriculture. We have adverted to his speech in a separate article.

Of complete suffrage movements we have no very striking accounts to show, except two spirited meetings at Birmingham and Leicester, expressive of dissent from the ministerial policy which would put down free discussion in the sister kingdom; and several lectures, delivered by Mr Spencer in South Wales to crowded and enthusiastic audiences. We take it for granted that the Council is maturing some plan of effective agitation.

Foreign news is not generally important. Austrian troops have been marched into Italy to protect the papal government against the consequences of its own infamous misrule, and, it is said, to force upon it something like a decent show of reform. In Spain matters remain as they were, the returns to the Cortes not having been completely verified. Poor Barcelona is all but destroyed. Six thousand shot and shells have been thrown into it by the men who first instigated the people to revolt, and then deceived them. Leon has pronounced in favour of a central junta, and the government forces sent to put down the rising have been routed. Saragossa is also undergoing the process of bombardment. Such are the fruits of French intrigue and royal ambition.

WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

LET us but imagine a mind, undisturbed by the din of human passions, unbiased by any participation in human interests, clear-sighted from very calmness, and placed in a position to take a commanding view of what is now going forward in the several parts of this empire—and what a strange spectacle would that mind look down upon! Let attention be confined to the events of the past week only, neither so numerous nor so striking as they have been of late, and what are the elements for reflection presented to one's view? Peaceful industry, it is true, works out, in comparative noiselessness, its results. The tradesman is found, for the most part, in his shop—the manufacturer in his mill—the farmer in his fields—the artisan and the peasant at their work. The countless and infinitely diversified operations, upon which the staple interests of the nation depend, and which proceed independently of civil government, are carried on, partially affected only by political disquietudes. The regularity and constancy of their movements prove to a demonstration the tranquil

tendencies of the population at large, and show that, if the breath of agitation can and does ruffle the surface, the cause which produces so undesirable an effect must be not only potent, but in the highest degree unnatural. It is not of mere wantonness—not of fickleness of temper in the mass of the people, that disturbances exist to trouble our repose.

Let, then, this settledness of our population—this ordinary devotedness to home duties—this unbroken attention to industrial pursuits, from which scarcely any excitement is strong enough to divert them, constitute the back-ground to the picture we are about to draw, and serve, as it well may, to throw out into prominent relief those features of our national condition upon which we wish to fix the minds of our readers. And now, what tale does the painting tell? and what is its moral? Those separate agitations which are carried on with vigour so decided, and at an expense so serious—those upheavings of the public will, indicated by meetings more or less crowded and enthusiastic—orators and lecturers traversing the country, and putting forth their strength in argument, description, and eloquent appeal—on the part of government, proclamations, prosecutions, and commissions of inquiry—on the part of the people, resolutions, protests, subscriptions, organisations—here the muttered curse, there the loud execration—the press pouring forth its daily and weekly effusions of apology or indignation—soldiers hurrying to and fro to Ireland, to Wales, to Scotland—pensioners called out to be trained and accoutred for action—fortifications put in order, their gaping walls armed with cannon—rumour busy in sending abroad a thousand menaces—and general, growing expectation, expectation which few can shake off, that dire calamities and great revolutions are marching upon us from behind the hills of present events—what, we ask, is the moral of all this? Whereto does it point? What is it all about? and in what will it probably terminate?

It will be observed that every one of these things represents to our view either government moving against the people, or the people combining against the government. The two parties are differently armed, it is true—the one with the weapons of physical force, the other with those of moral power—but, at every point of the picture, it will be seen that the conflict is between these two antagonists. Wherever attack and defence is going forward, these are the parties engaged. There would seem to be deadly enmity between them, and every contest is but a development of it. Not that it always assumes the same shape, but that it is essentially of the same nature. The movement against the corn laws, the menaced assaults upon the church, Rebeccaism and incen- diarism in Wales, Ross-shire tumults in Scotland, repeal agitation in Ireland, complete suffrage manifestoes in England—what are they all, at bottom, but democracy asserting its rights against the might of aristocracy? the people rising up to denounce the violation of justice at their expense, by the very party professedly appointed, and actually sustained, by them to prevent it? What are they but so many assertions that there is, in this land, a "we" as well as a "thou," and that whatever prescriptions "thou" may be able to plead in defence of oppression, "we" can show in opposition to them the ineffaceable law of nature and of God, and will not, consequently, nay, cannot, submit, unmoved, to injustice.

Whatever, therefore, may be the various phases under which these evils show themselves to outward apprehension—whether in laws to make food scarce, or to convert religion into a mine of wealth and political power—whether in landlord outrages in Ireland, or toll-gate exactions in South Wales, or Erastian intolerance in Scotland—the real source of them all is this, that the interests of the governed and the interests of the governors are not at one. There is no community of feeling among them—no healthful reciprocation of confidence—no unity of character, principle, and pursuit. Connected together by no natural tie, they are antagonists. Government, emanating from a class, does not consult for the people, but against them. Its main object has come to be to keep from the public, as long as possible, every advantage which the public claims, and to create as many sources of profit to themselves as the temper of the country will allow. Not until government, in its organic structure, is put into unison with the mind of the nation, will this unnatural contest cease. Every quarrel is now as to the relative rights of the ruled and the rulers, and will be so, until the last is made, by equal representation, to identify themselves with the first. An aristocracy can only govern a nation of slaves.

HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE.

THERE is a numerous and highly respectable class of reforming politicians in this country, who declare themselves favourable to household suffrage, but who shrink with fear and aversion from that which is denominated complete. Many of them have arrived at conclusions by a retrograde—some, by an advancing, process of mental growth. The former

section profess the principles of the old radical school, modified, however, by recent familiarity with whig expediency. The latter, once genuine whigs, have been driven from the point of finality by the palpable inadequacy of the Reform bill to cope with oligarchical domination. Both meet on the same spot, from different and opposite quarters—and that spot is household suffrage, the ballot, and triennial parliaments. Towards them, complete suffragists begin to turn their eyes with hope. They seem to come within reach of conversion. Their opinions, anchored to no solid principle, may be expected to yield somewhat to the force of argument. They are in a position to be reasoned with. Prejudice has no invincible power over their judgments. They may feel its force, indeed, but they are not its branded and hopeless slaves. Their ears, in this matter, have not been nailed to the door-post. As they usually occupy stations of considerable influence—as the class furnishes a number of parliamentary candidates, and commonly exerts a sort of controlling power over the movements of election committees, it becomes us to meet it fairly and respectfully, and to try whether the facts in our possession, and the arguments at our disposal, are not sufficiently weighty to win over, at least, the most intelligent members of it.

We do not think it needful to go into any of the points advocated by the Complete Suffrage Union, but that which relates to the basis upon which the franchise should, in our opinion, rest. Nor shall we, on the present occasion, open up again the question of abstract right. We consent to argue the matter exclusively upon the ground of expediency—and shall attempt to show, that even in point of safety, complete suffrage has the advantage of household suffrage.

The first point to be attended to, is the difference in the number of electors which each system would furnish. We are sorry that we cannot give complete statistical information; but such as it is, it may be relied upon for conducting us to accurate conclusions. The census for 1841 gives, as the number of males resident in England and Wales, and being upwards of 20 years of age, 4,130,763, somewhat less than a third, and more than a fourth of the entire population. It gives also, as the number of inhabited houses in England and the principality, 2,943,939. Casting off, then, a proportion for those who are under 21 years of age, but are upwards of 20, and taking into account joint occupancy in the case of a considerable number of houses, we find that complete suffrage would give to England and Wales 4,000,000 of voters, and that household suffrage would give 3,000,000—the relative proportion being four to three. The population for the whole of Great Britain is stated by the census to be 18,844,434. Add for Ireland, the items of the census of which have not yet been published, 8,175,238, and we shall have a gross total of 26,702,163. The number of voters which this population would give, would be nearly as follows. On the plan of complete suffrage, we should have under seven millions—on the plan of household suffrage, above five millions. In other words, complete suffrage would give somewhat more than 1,000,000 more electors than the household plan. The question is, then, whether this larger proportion is likely to render the former more unsafe than the latter. Let our readers go on, and we think they will not judge such a conclusion to be well-founded.

Our next duty will be to point attention to the class of men whom household suffrage would include in the constituency, and the probable circumstances which would introduce many of them to the enjoyment of their right. It is admitted that our towns would, under the operation of household suffrage, give a large and valuable accession to the constituent body. It would open the door to an important proportion of operatives—men presiding over families, industrious and frugal in their habits, little given to violence or to dishonesty, well able to judge, by the exercise of strong common sense, between the respective merits of general political principles, and the respective qualifications of candidates for representation, but men who, because they occupy a tenement rented below £10 a year, are excluded by the present system from the privileges of citizenship. But it is not to be denied, that the great bulk of persons whom household suffrage would elevate into electors would be the peasantry of our land. Taking into view the relative number of our population employed in the cultivation of the soil, and of those engaged in pursuits which, for the most part, are followed in towns—looking at the fact, that many of these latter, especially in large boroughs, are already, in consequence of the higher scale of rents, in possession of the franchise, and that few, if any, of the former, owing to a lower scale of rents, and to the higher qualification required, can now enjoy the privilege in question—observing, moreover, that whilst in towns lodgers are a numerous class, in rural districts they are few—we think it can hardly be disputed that the principal addition made to the electoral class by household suffrage would be derived from the great body of agricultural labourers. These would

fairly outnumber all others whom the contemplated system would invest with the franchise. Now, it is clear that this class does not rise to the average intelligence of any other in the kingdom—nor is it less notorious, that they are more completely under the control of landlord and clerical influences, from which, since they debase the mind itself, not even the ballot would protect them.

Look again at the untoward position in which these electors, admitted on such grounds, would be placed. The vote, attached to the house, and not to the man, would come to be considered the property of the landlord. May he not do as he will with his own? May he not rent his hovels on any terms he thinks fit? May he not multiply votes by multiplying cheap tenements, and separating families into as many households as there are grown-up sons? And he, having bestowed the qualification, having at his own expense created it—might he not claim the exercise of it in blind obedience to his dictation? Complete suffrage, it is true, would admit the same men—but it would admit also a counter-balancing class, and would hold out no temptation to men of property to manufacture votes for the express purpose of using them.

Let us now attend a moment or two to the class whom household suffrage would exclude. In London, and in all our great towns, it would set aside, as unfit to be trusted with the franchise, an immense majority of shopmen, usually as well qualified to participate in political power, as the tradesmen whom they serve, and far less exposed to corrupt influences. Mechanics living by their own industry, but too prudent to marry and keep house until they have realised some savings—hosts of bankers', merchants', and lawyers' clerks, earning a respectable salary, and moving in a respectable middle class sphere of society; students for every profession; elder sons of a countless number of well-ordered and well-educated families; thousands of men, young and aged, whose sole pursuit is literature—all these the system of household suffrage would exclude from the constituency of the country. It would open the door to just that class, respecting whom it is so frequently urged, by the opponents of complete representation, that it is wholly disqualified by ignorance, and would close it against that numerous class, against whom none will pretend that the objection lies. The electoral body which it would create would be pervaded by far less intelligence, and exposed to far more potent influences of corruption, than that which would be the offspring of the juster, more liberal, and more natural system of complete suffrage.

Facts like these have made impressions upon some minds, and have driven them to advocate the extension of the franchise to householders and lodgers. To such persons, we beg to submit a consideration or two. It behoves them, then, to consider how very small a fraction of the community this system would exclude, which complete suffrage would admit—just enough, whilst denied their rights, to keep alive discontent—but not enough, if allowed them, to give even a tinge to the constituent body. Those in whose disfavour it would operate would be chiefly sons arrived at maturity, but living still under the parental roof, which every one knows to be seldom the case among the poor, and men-servants forming a part of aristocratic households. The bestowal of political rights on these might render somewhat more conservative, but could hardly make more revolutionary, the electoral body. Their exclusion, however, would require all manner of harassing provisions for registration, and afford countless opportunities for fraud and chicanery. To men whose opinions go thus far, we say, take one little step further, and you stand on solid ground. You would then have a sound basis upon which to rest your arguments. You would get clear of all petty entanglements. You would remove every element of injustice which might hereafter fester into discontent. You would settle, once for all, the question of representation; and you would find, as all men in all ages have invariably found, that the safest organic reforms are those which are the most complete.

THE MORNING STAR IN THE AGRICULTURAL WORLD.

AGRICULTURE was wont, from the earliest ages of the world, to be esteemed an honourable employment. Kings have patronised it; priests have blessed it; poets have sung its praises. It has charms peculiarly its own. It gives health to the body; it might, if pursued with a genial spirit, invigorate the mind and improve the heart. What a wondrous, subtle, complex, but exquisitely balanced, mechanism is that which noiselessly and incessantly works out a farmer's plans, and turns into substance his forethought and his hopes! Earth is his raw material—the dew, the showers, the atmosphere, his moving power—the sun his blazing furnace. Gentle nature is his handmaid, with vigilant eye superintending all the operations of his open factory. No tall chimneys has he, no crowded workshops to undermine with impure air the constitutions of his labourers, no racking of

engines to turn his domain into a modern Babel. Such hard necessity his vocation does not impose upon him. Stillness, peace, purity, reign undisturbed in that sphere to which his business calls him. And yet all about him there is life, growth, activity, change—invisible laws developing the most beautiful and beneficial results—matter without end for observation and study—opportunities as varied as they are inviting for experiment—processes innumerable by which mind displays itself to mind—illustrations, rich and countless, of that untiring and inexhaustible beneficence which makes the earth the teeming source of blessings to our race. Farmers, of right, should be the most intelligent of our population, the most cheerful, the most generous, the most happy.

To such superiority, however, we are afraid they can put in no well-grounded claim. As it regards our own country and our own times, farmers are not specially distinguished by the activity of their intellectual powers, nor by the geniality of their dispositions. Something the reverse of this has been charged against them; and truly, if country squires may be regarded as the higher type of the genus, the charge is capable of being but too well sustained. They are not remarkable for enterprise—they do not resort for their conclusions to any extensive application of the inductive process—they make not the most of their opportunities for self-culture—they are not philosophers—they are but so-so statesmen—the open volume of nature they know not how to read—know not the alphabet of it—and volumes of any other kind they far too commonly regard with supercilious contempt. They can distinguish samples—they are tolerable judges of a horse—they hold fast a certain tradition about rotation crops—they can tell when to sow, and when to reap, but beyond getting out of the land what the land, for generations back, has been accustomed to give them, they take no manner of thought. Quantity of produce has been no prominent object with them—but price. The last they have attempted to secure, at the community's expense, by act of parliament—the first, which they might have secured by the application of intelligence to their work, they have let alone, unheeded. Such ingenuity as they have has, unfortunately, been misapplied—it has been directed to increase, not their stock, but the money value of it. Cradled in corn-laws, they have deliberately given themselves up to sleep. Their lands but half tilled, their resources left undeveloped, thistles contending in their fields with crops for mastery, they have sought compensation for their own mental indolence from a too partial legislature, and the country is actually paying them ruinous prices to afford them leisure to stand still. We have corn laws simply to perpetuate the race of ignorant, unenterprising farmers, whom landlords may catch and pluck with impunity.

Whatever may be the political results—economical, we suppose we must say, in deference to the new use of phraseology—of the labours of the League, none can deny them the credit of introducing a revolution in the agricultural world. Sir Robert Peel's speech at Tamworth was the last and most decisive evidence of this. When the premier calls upon the farmers to rely upon nothing but the more intelligent performance of their proper work—when he descants upon the various modes by which landlords can assist their tenantry, when he exhorts them to betake themselves to observation, reading, intercommunion, and experiment—when he bids them “rub shoulders,” establish agricultural book clubs, acquaint themselves with natural science, geology, chemistry, and the like—when he talks about giving leases to such as prefer it, and destroying game where game is found pernicious—when, in short, he puts the whole body of agriculturists upon applying their minds, and exercising their ingenuity, and gathering up information, with a view to obtain from the earth all that the earth under good management is ready to give them—have we not reason to say, the morning star has already risen upon the darkness of the agricultural world, and in that sphere of pitchy night there is hope of day-break at last? How comes this stir amongst the farmers? Whence this confession of past supineness, this promise of future activity? What may account for this sudden appreciation of science before despised? The continuance of legislative protection is uncertain, and the farmer must learn, like others, to protect himself. The crutches are bending, and threaten at no distant period to snap; and therefore he is preparing himself to walk alone and unsupported. With a free trade in corn, he cannot afford to be a dolt, and necessity is becoming in a literal sense his schoolmaster.

And if such be the beneficial result to this class of men of a mere apprehension of the withdrawal of legislative protection, what may not repeal itself be expected to do for them! Once awaken their minds, and who shall set bounds to their improvement? Throw them upon their own resources, and in a single generation they may move from the rear to the van of intelligence. They have opportunities, they may easily multiply facilities, and they can command time, for improvement. What visions rise before us! Market dinners

seasoned with calm, philosophic discourse, and discussions upon the chemical affinities of soils and manures occupying the place of stories anent "my tit." Studios habits succeeding to the dozing glumness of mental indolence, and the pleasures of the chase giving way to the more rational recreations of literature. Why, we shall have back upon us, before we are aware of it, the golden age. Pastorals and bucolics will re-appear in more than pristine beauty, and country squires and magistrates will become the choice spirits of the day. Soberly, however, there is every indication that, amongst the various classes hereafter to derive benefits from a repeal of the corn laws, the agricultural tenants will come in for a large share. Others will gain something for the body, these will gain much for the mind; and, whatever others may owe to the League, the farmers will have to thank them for reclaiming them from a servile dependence upon their landlords, from consequent indolence, and from that worst of bondage, a bondage to ignorant prejudice.

THE ROYAL VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE.—On Wednesday last the Queen and Prince Albert left Windsor castle in a pony chaise and four, on a visit to Cambridge university; the Prince and Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg riding in the same carriage. At Slough, the pony chaises were exchanged for a special train on the railway. At Paddington, the Prince and Princess of Hohenlohe took leave of the Queen and Prince; who, with their suite, entered three carriages-and-four, and proceeded, with an escort of Life guards, at a rapid pace, across the Regent's park, through Camden town, to the Cambridge road. Waltham, Ware, and all other places on the line of road, were decorated with arches, flags, and evergreens; and the population universally appeared to greet the travelers. As the cortege entered the county of Cambridge, it was joined by a great and increasing number of gentlemen on horseback; so that an immense cavalcade accompanied it into the city of Cambridge. The place was profusely ornamented with evergreens, flowers, flags, and banners, and triumphal arches; and at the sides, platforms were erected for the spectators, who thronged every part: the ladies carrying bouquets in their hands. At the entrance of the town stood the corporation, headed by Mr Stevenson, the mayor. The carriages stopped; the civic magistrate, dropping on one knee, presented his mace to the Queen; and she graciously returned it, the people shouting. After partaking of luncheon in a private apartment, the Queen and Prince Albert entered the hall, where a temporary throne had been erected. Earl Delawarr, habited in a doctor's gown, introduced Lord Lyndhurst, high steward of the university, the vice-chancellor, and other members of the university. The vice-chancellor read congratulatory addresses to the Queen and Prince, who made suitable replies; and the heads of the university were severally presented. The royal party then proceeded to the King's College chapel, where the cathedral service was performed. The chair occupied by her Majesty, of carved oak, is supposed to be the same used by Queen Elizabeth. A very select circle dined with the Queen and Prince Albert at Trinity lodge, and at half-past nine o'clock the Queen held a levee; at which the heads of houses and proctors were presented, and addresses were delivered to both the royal personages from the corporation, parochial clergy, and the inhabitants of Cambridge. In the evening the town was illuminated, with fire-works. On Thursday morning the Queen and Prince Albert proceeded to the Senate house. A spacious platform was erected in the hall; on it was a throne, with two chairs of state, and a canopy, with hangings of crimson cloth. Galleries on each side of the platform and above the throne were filled with ladies; other galleries were filled with undergraduates; in the body of the hall were the masters of arts; on the platform, several heads of houses and their ladies. Her Majesty and the Prince having taken their seats, the degree of doctor of laws was conferred on his Royal Highness with the usual ceremonies. A Latin oration was delivered, congratulatory of the royal presence and the auspicious occasion. After this ceremony the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred by royal mandate on Mr R. Phelps, master of Sidney Sussex college. Her Majesty paid great attention to the whole of the ceremonial attending the conferring of this degree, and appeared to be much interested in the proceedings. From the Senate house the Queen and Prince Albert proceeded to the Geological museum, where Professor Sedgwick showed the curiosities, to the University library, and to St John's college. In passing to their carriage, the royal pair had to walk, and the undergraduates, who lined the way, pulled off their gowns for the Queen to tread upon. In the hall of King's college a luncheon was laid out, but the Queen returned to Trinity lodge to lunch. In the afternoon Prince Albert, attended by his equerry, went to see Christ's college, where he was shown the mulberry tree said to have been planted by Milton, and Dr Graham, the master, delivered an address on the subject! Thence the Prince passed to Sydney Sussex, Magdalen, and Jesus colleges, and returned to Trinity lodge. The royal party took their departure at half-past four o'clock, and proceeded to Wimpole, the seat of Earl Hardwicke, about ten miles south-west of Cambridge. A select party was invited to meet the illustrious visitors.

VACANCY FOR SALISBURY.—By the death of Mr Wyndham, late conservative M.P. for this borough, a vacancy has been created in the representation of this borough. The hon. Mr Bouverie is spoken of as the candidate in the free-trade interest.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

MEETING OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—The usual monthly meeting of the Anti-corn-law League was held on Thursday, at Covent Garden theatre, which was filled in every part. Soon after Mr George Wilson had taken the chair, a list was read of places at which addresses of congratulation to the citizens of London on the return of Mr Pattison had been passed; they were Winchester, Brighton, Leeds, Beverley, Boston, South Shields, Bridgewater, Newark, Halifax, Newport in the Isle of Wight, Carlisle, Kendal, Rochdale, Bradford, Barnard Castle, King's Lynn, besides one from members of the League at Manchester, and another from members of the Council of the League. The Chairman and Mr Villiers made good use of the city election; Mr Villiers, however, observing, that an outpost was not to be mistaken for the citadel, which had yet to be won; and he pointed to the results already attained, as proving the use of the discussion promoted in all directions by the League. Dr Bowring and Mr Milner Gibson made the speech delivered last week by Sir R. Peel at Tamworth their chief topic; Dr Bowring exulting over the Premier's tacit abandonment of "protection"; while Mr Gibson insisted that the country could not wait for the realisation of some chimera of Sir Robert Peel's, at some future period, but, instead of staying for increased production of corn, must have it imported at once. A letter was read from Mr Travers, chairman of Mr Pattison's committee, stating that the writer subscribed £100 to the £100,000 fund. A long speech from Mr R. R. R. Moore wound up the proceedings.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.—BOROUGH OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.—A fourth meeting in aid of the above society was held on Friday, October 27th, at Gibraltar chapel, Bethnal Green road. Mr E. Perry occupied the chair. Two resolutions were unanimously adopted, expressing approval of the society's principles and objects; and a declaration to the same effect was signed by fifty-three persons. The attendance was very considerable.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.—At the usual weekly meeting of the National association, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—1. That this association considers the conduct of the government in suppressing the late intended meeting at Clontarf, in favour of the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, a flagrant violation of an acknowledged constitutional right of the people, that of publicly assembling for the discussion of all subjects affecting their social and political welfare. 2. That this association also considers that, but for the immense power of Mr O'Connell, a power which on this occasion he used most worthily, but on the sufficient extent of which for the suppression of the meeting no person could safely rely, this conduct of the government would probably have led to the barbarous massacre of innocent multitudes, constitutionally assembled for a legal purpose.

COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL.—Thursday a court was held for the despatch of public business. Deputy Peacock presented a petition from the Literary association of the friends of Poland, praying for the renewal of the favour, hitherto so charitably granted, of the use of the Guildhall for a concert and ball for the benefit of the unfortunate Polish refugees. The petition was received with acclamations. Mr Wire seconded the motion, which was agreed to unanimously and amidst cheers.

ALDERMAN GIBBS AND THE PARISH ACCOUNTS.—A public meeting of the parishioners of St Stephen's, Walbrook, was held on Thursday, at which it was resolved that all accounts belonging to the parish be delivered to the vestry-clerk, and that application be made to Mr Gibbs for those in his possession, which if refused, the matter should be brought before magistrates. At the Mansion house, on Friday, an application was made by the solicitor of Mr Rock, a rated inhabitant of St Stephen's, Walbrook, for a summons calling upon Alderman Gibbs, the churchwarden of the parish, to produce his accounts. The Lord Mayor stated that Alderman Gibbs had that morning brought the accounts to the Mansion house, and sworn to their correctness; and he recommended a fresh application to the churchwarden himself, promising a summons if the accounts were still refused. The solicitor withdrew for that purpose.

SLAVE-TRADING CASE.—This case came on at the Central Criminal court, on Thursday, and was continued until Monday. The facts of the case have been lately narrated in our columns. The case excited great interest in a crowded court. Mr Justice Maule, in a long speech, summed up. He said that the jury must be satisfied that slave-trading was contemplated, and that the prisoner was cognisant of it, before they could pronounce a verdict of guilty. After an absence of an hour and a half, the jury returned and gave a verdict of "not guilty."

PRINCE CHRISTOPHE.—A statement was made at the Mansion house, on Tuesday, on behalf of Prince Christophe, the brother of the late King of Hayti, who is in a destitute state. The prince came to this country to prosecute a claim to one-third of certain stock purchased by his brother, the interest of which is apparently enjoyed by the King's widow, who is said to evade the claim. The Prince had married a lady of some property, but it was deposited with her family, who had been ruined by the late earthquake in Hayti; and they are thus left destitute, while the Princess has just given birth to a child. A few pounds have been contributed for their relief; but the claim seems to be vitiated by lapse of time—money to push it would at least be needed, and the unfortunate family are threatened with actual starva-

tion. The Lord Mayor regretted that he could not serve the Prince, but believed that, if his case were made known through "the usual channels of communication," he would not long remain without the required assistance.

MILITARY INSOLENCE.—At the Surrey adjourned sessions, Thomas Lloyd, 67 years of age, and of respectable connexions, was indicted for stealing a coat, a glass mustard pot, and a crown piece, the property of Mr Henry Batson, a retired captain of the 1st life guards—

Mr Charnock: Pray, Mr Batson, what are you?—Witness (in a significant tone): Come, come! none of that; let's have no insolence, if you please [loud laughter].—Mr Charnock: I ask you, sir, what are you?—Witness: And I tell you, sir, I will have none of your insolence.—Mr Charnock: Well, I am not frightened, but I think you are a little choleric.—Witness: I know how to chastise insolence [laughter].—Mr Charnock: You will, perhaps, answer my question.—Witness: What am I? Why, what are you? I am a man and a gentleman—a gentleman of independent fortune, and that's more than can be said of you [roars of laughter].—Chairman: Perhaps, Mr Batson, the best plan would be to answer the question.—Witness (folding his arms, and looking very fierce at the counsel): Well, now, sir, what do you want of me?—Mr Charnock: Oh! pray don't be "in a passion;" you can speak daggers, but use none [laughter].—Witness: Since you must know, I am an independent gentleman.—Mr Charnock: Your profession?—Witness: I profess nothing [loud laughter]; on the contrary, you profess a great deal. I am a soldier; and now what are you?—Mr Charnock: You have this advantage of me—you are a gentleman, and I am not; but will you condescend to tell us your rank in the army?—Witness: I hold no rank.—Mr Charnock: What was your former rank?—Witness: I was captain in the 1st life guards. What else do you want to know?—Mr Charnock: I shall not trouble you for your "traveled history."—Witness: And if you did, you would not get it [immense laughter].—Mr Charnock: Perhaps not; but still we must have the history of the felony.—Witness: And you will learn it in the indictment. I thought lawyers were quick-witted, and knew everything without asking.

After a little further sharp shooting the cross-examination dropped, and the gravity of the court was no longer disturbed. The jury found the prisoner "Guilty," but strongly recommended him to the mercy of the court, on account of his extreme age, in which the gallant prosecutor most heartily joined. The prisoner was sentenced to 21 days' solitary confinement.

THE WHITE SLAVES IN LONDON.—Perhaps it is not generally known that the proprietors of several establishments at the eastern part of the metropolis, who employ needlewomen to make up slop work, compel them to attend at four and five o'clock in the morning to receive the materials which are afterwards made up into trousers, waistcoats, and shirts; and that many of these poor creatures are employed at their needle eighteen or nineteen hours a-day. It is not an unusual circumstance for girls to employ themselves from six o'clock in the morning until twelve o'clock at night, then snatch a few hours' sleep, and rise and "attend shop," as it is termed, to obtain more work. The earnings of the shirt and trousers makers are very precarious, and six shillings is considered by many of them "a good week." A few who do the fine work for respectable houses in the city earn more, but great numbers, who are constantly employed for eighteen hours a day, do not obtain more than four shillings a week. The consequence of this state of things is most lamentable. The squalid appearance of the women in Shadwell, Stepney, and St George's-in-the-East is remarkable. Sometimes as many as five or six young girls occupy one small room, in which they work and sleep and take their meals in common, plying their needles from morn to night, without a ray of hope to cheer them.—*Times*.

DISTRESS IN THE METROPOLIS.—At this season begin to appear the worst cases of misery, leading to crime, at the metropolitan police offices. For example, at Lambeth street, on Wednesday, a woman named Biddell was charged with illegally pawning some trousers which a slopseller had given her to make. Her wages were sevenpence a pair, out of which to find thread! The magistrate, instead of sending the poor woman to the house of correction, sent her to the workhouse, assuming for the nonce the royal prerogative of pardon. This, and some other cases, have revived the periodical thought for the poor, and the *Times*, foremost in that good work, has wrought to such effect that it has directly induced more than one five-pound, and even larger notes, to be sent to the police magistrates; a welcome subsidy, for we observe some of the magistrates complain that the funds in the poor-box run low.—*Spectator*.

THE MORTALITY OF THE METROPOLIS.—We regret to state that the weekly table of mortality still presents a most distressing increase in the number of deaths above the average at this season. In the week ending October 21 no less than 1,100 persons died within the bills of mortality; an increase of 198 upon the average of the last five autumns, and 263 upon that of the last five years. It is in endemic, epidemic, and contagious diseases that the increased mortality is principally perceptible; the deaths under this head numbering 271, while the average gives only 183.

On Wednesday morning a respectable company assembled in the great room of Exeter hall, for the purpose of witnessing the ceremony of Mr Boys's fine art distribution. The number of tickets was 12,000, and there were 600 prizes. After the prizes were drawn Mr Boys gave, as a bonus, other prizes to the amount of 350 guineas.

MURDER OF A CHILD BY ITS FATHER.—At Union hall, on Wednesday, Edward Dwyer was committed for trial on a charge of murdering his infant child, three months old. The man, a hawker of brooms, had often been in custody for assaults; and he had only been a fortnight out of prison, to which he had been summarily convicted for biting a piece out of a man's cheek. He was drinking in a public house, when his wife came in with the child, abused and struck him, and, saying that he should keep the child, left it with him. In a fit of rage, he lifted the child up, grasped its thighs with both hands, and dashed its head against the counter. It died soon after. A coroner's jury having sat on the child's body, returned a verdict of wilful murder against Dwyer.

PROVINCIAL.

W. WILLIAMS, Esq., M.P.—On Monday, the 23rd ult., Mr Williams, one of the representatives for Coventry, paid his annual visit to his constituents, in pursuance of a pledge given by him at his first election, that he would do so after the termination of every parliamentary session, to render an account of his conduct, or afford any explanation which might be required of him in reference thereto. The place of meeting was the Half-moon yard, where a considerable number were assembled at one o'clock, the Town hall having been refused for the occasion. Mr Williams, in an able speech, took a review of the last session of parliament. On former occasions, although he had to tell of much that had been done amiss, he had at the same time always had to tell them of some good being done; but, on this occasion, such was not the case; for, he would tell them, that not one good measure had been passed.

"During the whole of the session, the wants and wishes of the people have been treated with the utmost neglect, and, in fact it would have been much better for the people if the Parliament had never met at all; for, of the 118 days and nights during which the Parliament has sat, the whole of the business of eighty-nine nights was done after midnight. But, although, throughout this long session, nothing has been done for your benefit, I can assure you that government have not neglected to bring forward many bad measures—worse measures than I ever saw brought forward before; they have voted away the public money more profusely than ever; they have squandered your hard earnings more wantonly than ever an old boroughmongering Parliament did in the most palmy days of toryism, and the consequence is, that they spent in the last year five millions of money more than was spent in the year 1835, eight years ago. You will, no doubt, wonder how this is, and what they wanted so much more money for, especially when it is considered that this increased expenditure takes place after the Chinese war has been closed, after the dispute with the United States was settled, and after the termination of the contest in Afghanistan; indeed, I may say that we had not an external enemy in the whole world, and yet last year Parliament voted away fifty-four millions of money; and besides this you have to pay for the cost of internal government in the shape of local taxes to the amount of about thirteen millions more, so that the total cost of government for the last year amounted to about sixty-seven millions, and although the government got five millions by the income tax, all was too little."

He enumerated a few of the items of the expenditure of government:—

"It would appear that the sum actually voted by Parliament of the public money for these royal parks and palaces is £43,000; but by appropriating a part of the revenue derived from the Crown lands to the same purpose, which ought not to be done, I find that these things cost about £150,000. Now the Crown land revenues having been surrendered by the Sovereign, in consideration of the granting of a civil list, no part of those revenues can be of right devoted to the royal parks and palaces; yet this is what has been done to the amount of above £100,000. What do you think, my friends, when I tell you that within the last five years the sum of £40,000 has been applied to the maintenance of royal dogs? And this was one of the things of which I exposed the profligacy; and, considering that her Majesty has the liberal allowance of £385,000 a year, and that Prince Albert has also an allowance of £30,000 a year, I think you will agree with me that the royal dogs ought to be provided for, without coming to tax you for their keeping."

With respect to the Chelsea Pensioners bill, although the government had reduced the number to be called out, from 47,000 to 10,000, yet they made it a condition that these 10,000 pensioners should be a permanent addition to the armed force of the country. If the Mutiny bill were not renewed every year, or were it to be once omitted, every man in the army, as soon as the act expired, would be free, and entitled to his liberty. But now by this bill for calling out the pensioners, this excellent rule of voting the number of the army and their pay, annually, was departed from, and they had a permanent addition of 10,000 men voted at once. Mr Williams then adverted to other measures of parliament, and to the condition of the country. Although there was some slight improvement in trade, it could not under the present system of legislation be permanent, and he believed that the only means for averting bloodshed and insurrection, was for the people to take their own affairs into their own hands. A vote of continued confidence in Mr Williams as their representative, was unanimously carried. In the evening a dinner took place at which about 70 persons were present. The utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed. In returning thanks for the drinking of his health, Mr Williams mentioned the following fact:—The regular army was 50,000 men more this year than in 1822, besides which there was a military police of 22,000 men scattered through the country, and 10,000 able-bodied pensioners, making altogether a military force of 272,000 strong, ready to act at any moment at the bidding of the government. Among the toasts was, "A full, fair, and free representation of the people," which was responded to by Mr Taunton, who made an able speech on class rule and class legislation.

KENDAL ELECTION.—It was announced that a series of questions on the leading topics of political importance would be proposed to the various candidates recommended to the constituency of Kendal. After receiving the replies to these questions, the electors fixed upon Mr Warburton, late M.P. for Bridport, as the candidate in the Liberal interest. In the *Kendal Mercury* of Saturday the replies of Mr Warburton to these queries appear at full length. The first of them refer to the question of free trade, of which Mr Warburton professes himself

a decided advocate, without any limitation even in favour of the non-importation of slave-grown produce. Then comes the answers relative to the suffrage, which we subjoin:—

Q. 5.—What are your opinions on the Extension of the Suffrage?

A.—Many of the restrictions on the right of voting, contained in the Reform Bill, or in the laws of antecedent date, are arbitrary and indefensible; and are such as men of the most moderate liberal opinions would admit, upon discussion, to be inconsistent with common sense.

Looking at this question in a practical point of view, I know that no plan for extending the suffrage has a chance of being carried into effect, unless it be such as to unite in its support a very large body, as well of the middle as of the working classes. To devise such a plan, and to obtain for it such support, should be the object of those who unite with their desire of seeing the suffrage extended the requisite amount of foresight and discretion. For any such plan, that meets with such support, I should certainly vote; and, in the meantime, I should probably signify my assent to the general principle of extending the suffrage, by voting for such suitable measures as have extension for their object that might be proposed. The limit at which the right of voting should stop I find it difficult, on general grounds, to assign. Practically, I know that this question will be decided by the state and condition of those classes to which the right of voting does not now extend. In proportion as their habits are moral, and they discuss questions with temper and moderation, will the objections of the other classes to the admission of their brethren to a common right disappear. It cannot be expected that all that is asked for should be conceded. There will be a series of concessions; each, perhaps, not very great in amount, when considered singly; but forming at length, when taken together, a comprehensive whole. I state myself to be in favour of a considerable extension of the suffrage.

Q. 6 (a).—What are your opinions on the Ballot?

I have uniformly voted, and sometimes spoken in favour of, the Ballot, when proposed in Parliament. The wider the suffrage the more indispensable will it be to give to the voter the protection of secrecy.

Q. 6 (b).—What are your opinions on the shortening of the duration of Parliament?

I consider that the representative has now too long a lease. Were the elections annual I fear that constituencies would become tired, and rendered careless of the exercise of their duties, by too frequent a repetition of political agitation. I should be satisfied with the triennial period; which is the more attainable, because sanctioned by old prescription.

Q. 8.—What are your opinions on what is called "the People's Charter?"

I have brought this question into immediate opposition with questions five and six; because of their common relation to the representative system. The three principal points in the people's charter relate to the extension of the suffrage, the vote by ballot, and the duration of Parliaments; and on these several points I have already stated my opinions. There are some other points contained in the charter, which I do not think of great moment, one way or the other; such as paying a stipend to the members, and dispensing altogether with pecuniary qualification. No such qualification is now required in Scotland, nor in England, from the sons of Peers; and there are other exceptions. But, relaxed as the qualification law now is by the bill I had the good fortune to carry through Parliament, I do not think this point at present of very great importance. There is one of the points in the charter which, if carried into effect, as matters now stand, would, I think, be positively mischievous; nay, ruinous, I might say, to the liberal interests throughout the country, and that for years to come. I refer to the plan of forming electoral districts, on Lord Durham's fashion, by the amalgamation of the towns with rural divisions of the country. As I know not where liberal opinions are to be found, except in the towns, I certainly dissent strongly from this plan of amalgamation.

I should render myself useless as a member for discussing in Parliament matters relating to the representative system did I pledge myself to any particular measure. I have endeavoured to discuss calmly the questions relating to it, and to state explicitly, and without evasion, my views concerning it.

With respect to church rates, he said he should prefer the existing plan, with all its inconveniences, to their payment out of the public exchequer, but he thought additional revenue for the purpose might be raised out of the church property. On Monday evening, the 23rd ult., Mr Warburton met the electors, and gave a fuller explanation of his political sentiments. On speaking of the suffrage, he said,

I hope, gentlemen, I shall enjoy the same toleration from you, should we have the misfortune, on any question, to differ in opinion—(Loud cheers). I have understood that it is the intention of some gentlemen, whom I shall meet in my canvass, to question me as to my intention to vote for some question relating to the suffrage. My answer is, that I shall vote for far more than you or I can hope to see carried out in our lifetimes—(Long-continued cheering). Is not that concession enough for any reasonable man?—(Laughter and cheers.)

Mr Warburton had letters of introduction from Mr Rowland Hill, Mr Grote, the Hon. E. Stanley, Messrs Raikes Currie, Lloyd Jones, James Wilson, B. Hawes, M.P., H. A. Aglionby, M.P., J. Bright, M.P., C. P. Villiers, M.P., and various gentlemen of Bridport. The *Kendal Mercury* says that, immediately after the meeting of Monday—"The canvass commenced; and ere night it was ascertained, beyond a doubt, that his return was certain. Mr Bentinck, his opponent, also presented himself on the same day to the electors; but, up to the present moment, he has not thought it necessary publicly to explain his sentiments, or to invite questions from the constituency."

Another meeting was held on Tuesday at the Odd Fellows' Hall, Mr Whitwell in the chair, when Mr Warburton, Mr Aglionby, M.P.; Mr Hawkes, Dissenting minister; Mr J. Thompson, and others, addressed the meeting.

SYMPATHY WITH IRELAND.

MEETING AT BIRMINGHAM.

We mentioned in our last number the refusal of the Mayor of Birmingham to call a meeting on the requisition of upwards of a thousand of the respectable inhabitants, and the determination of the requisitionists to hold an open air meeting. Of the attempt to procure the Town Hall the *Birmingham Journal* says:—"We noticed last week the refusal of the mayor to call the public meeting, as he had been requested by a very large number of highly-respectable ratepayers, and the refusal of the high bailiff to give his permission for the meeting to be held in the Town Hall. It will be seen, from the report in another column, that the requisitionists were not satisfied with this double refusal, but had recourse to the town-hall committee, by whom it was corroborated; to the commissioners individually, who were equally contumacious; and, lastly, to the county magistrates, amongst the entire of whom only one, our worthy and patriotic member, Mr Scholefield, was found consenting to the people's occupying, for a purely public purpose, the building which, for public purposes, a public rate had been so long exacted, and so wastefully expended."

The meeting accordingly took place on Wednesday, in an open space belonging to the People's Hall, Shadwell-street, at twelve o'clock. In spite of the severity of the weather, a large number of persons was assembled. Mr Alderman Weston was called to the chair, and in opening the proceedings mentioned the efforts that had been made to procure a better place of meeting, and condemned the conduct of the mayor and town-hall committee. The following then took place:—

A voice in the crowd: Who does the hall belong to?—(Hear, hear.)

The Chairman said he was glad that question was asked. He had been, ever since that hall was erected, a large contributor towards the expense of keeping it in order. The commissioners had taxed them all very highly. Now he had never once refused to pay that town-hall rate, but from that moment he would never pay it again—(Loud cheering).

Councillor W. H. Smith: I never will pay it.

The Chairman deprecated in strong terms the attempt on the part of the Government to suppress the right of expression of public opinion in Ireland, and gave it as his most decided opinion that, if the people of England did not come forward and protest against the policy of the present Ministry, the result would be, that after they had succeeded in putting down every vestige of liberty in Ireland, they would very soon check the rights of Englishmen. He then referred to the numerous grievances from which the Irish were suffering, with respect to the representation; he said that Ireland contains eight millions of inhabitants, England and Wales eighteen millions. Poor Ireland only sends 105 members to Parliament, and England, Scotland, and Wales send the residue of the 658 members of Parliament. If anything like justice were done to Ireland, she would send 267 members. But this was only one speck in the ocean of iniquity with which they deluged Ireland. He said it with shame, that Englishmen had been too negligent in sympathising with Ireland. He then introduced

Joseph Sturge, Esq., who was received with great applause, and moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, in the language of the Act of Settlement, claim, demand, and insist upon the right of petition, as one of the ancient and undoubted liberties of the subjects of this realm, secured by the British Constitution, and the exercise of which is just and necessary for the redress of grievances, and the amending, strengthening, and upholding of the laws."

In moving the above resolution, Mr Sturge dwelt upon the present condition of Ireland, which he said most imperatively demanded the serious consideration of the British people. The resolution might appear strong; but it only contained the identical language used by the Legislature in the year 1688, when King James abandoned the throne. The right of petition was sacred; it had always been held as such by the British people; and if it was not an undoubted right, they would not have been there that day to maintain it for their Irish brethren. In enumerating the grievances of Ireland, Mr Sturge mentioned the following facts:—

Few, even of the friends of Ireland in this country, know the extent of her sufferings; the landed proprietors had, in too many instances, carried on a horrible system of oppression. Up to the year 1833, it could be shown that 31,000 families had been driven from their homes by forcible ejections, and turned upon the world in misery and distress—(Cries of "Shame, shame"). He was justified in saying that since that period a still great number had been thus ejected. Since he came on the platform, he had been supplied with a fact or two, taken from official documents, which he would read to show the system of oppression which was driving the poor to madness. Mr S. read as follows:—"From the report of the Poor-law Commissioners, it appears that in the county of Meath, in one place, the holdings of twenty families, amounting to 164 acres, were given to two graziers; in another, those of fourteen families, occupying from five to fifteen acres each, were given to an individual already holding 800 acres; and in a third place, those of twenty families were converted into one gross farm of 3,200 acres. Thus, where there had been fifty-four families, there are only now three graziers. Mr Howley, assistant-barrister, declared before the Roden committee, that he had more than 150 ejections at one quarter sessions. Taking the lowest computation, including those expelled by process from the superior courts, it appears that not less than 280 families, on the average, are annually expelled from their holdings in each county in Ireland."

Mr Sturge, after condemning in strong language the use of so alarming a military force as was now in Ireland for the suppression of public opinion, concluded his speech amidst great applause.

W. Morgan, Esq., in seconding the resolution, gave a short historical account of the treatment Ireland had received at the hands of the successive Governments of this country.

Mr Albright, in a powerful speech, proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Councillor W. H. Smith, and carried:—

"This meeting have learned, with feelings of deep indignation, that the right of petition has been recently invaded in Ireland, by the prevention of a public meeting at Clontarf, convened to petition Parliament on a subject of alleged grievances. That, in the opinion of this meeting, the proceeding was not provoked by any illegality or other circumstances which could justify the course adopted by the Viceregal Government, which, but for the magnanimity of the Irish people, might have resulted in the most fearful consequences."

In the course of his speech Mr Albright related the following anecdote:—"He would give them another instance of how easily a minister of the Crown could trump up charges of sedition. He alluded to William Pitt, so often toasted as 'the pilot who weathered the storm,' but whom he would rather call the wizard who conjured the storm. He found mentioned in the works of the celebrated Robert Hall, that at the period at which he wrote there lay in prison at Newark, punished with the utmost rigour, a poor printer, whose sole offence was having published a handbill or pamphlet, which it was well known Pitt had himself once circulated, and which there was reason to believe was in part written by him and the Duke of Richmond. So much for the ease with which charges of sedition were uttered and manufactured."

Mr J. H. Wilson, Councillors Rodway and Baldwin, and Messrs P. Duffy, Paine, and Collins, afterwards addressed the meeting in support of the following resolutions:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the first duty of a Minister of State to protect the people in the exercise of their just rights. That it, therefore, views with apprehension and alarm a growing disposition to subvert those rights, and suppress by physical force the peaceable free expression of public opinion, not only in Ireland, but in other parts of the British dominions. That, in connection with the facts already stated, this meeting cannot too highly applaud the conduct of the Irish people. Though surrounded by distress and suffering, they have not been betrayed into violence, but they have sought the redress of grievances by constitutional means alone. This meeting cordially rejoice in these facts, and earnestly hope that this conduct may continue to be pursued, as the surest plan, not only for obtaining justice, but also for securing the sympathy of the British people."

"That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Committee of the People's Hall, for the use of the land upon which we are now assembled."

The following memorial was then carried with acclamations, after which the meeting, which lasted, in the most intense cold, for five hours, terminated at five o'clock:—

"To her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

"The Memorial of the Inhabitants of Birmingham, assembled the 25th day of October, 1843, humbly sheweth,

"That your memorialists, in the language of the Act of Settlement, claim, demand, and insist upon the right of petitioning as one of the ancient and undoubted liberties of the subjects of this realm, secured by the British Constitution, and the exercise of which is just and necessary for the redress of grievances, and the amending, strengthening, and upholding of the laws. That no right is more solemnly guaranteed, no right is in itself more just, nor any in its exercise more harmless, than that of petition. Your memorialists have therefore learned, with feelings of deep indignation, that this right has been recently invaded in Ireland by the prevention of a public meeting at Clontarf, legally convened to petition Parliament on a subject of alleged grievance; that there was no intimidation; the object contemplated was clearly legal; the meeting was publicly announced for at least a fortnight, and was to have been the last of a series, every one of which was of a most peaceable and orderly character. Under these circumstances, thousands left their homes to attend this meeting; and although the Government had secretly made extensive military preparations to suppress it, they issued no proclamation to forbid the people to assemble until four o'clock in the afternoon of the day preceding that on which an immense multitude were expected to meet at noon from the whole surrounding country. The tendency of these proceedings was to occasion a breach of the peace, and to bring about a hostile collision between the military and the people, likely to terminate in the slaughter of a vast number of unoffending citizens. That, in the opinion of your memorialists, it is the first duty of a minister to protect the people in their just rights. That we view with apprehension and alarm a growing disposition to subvert those rights, and suppress, by physical force, the peaceable and free expression of public opinion, not only in Ireland, but in other parts of the British dominions. From all these circumstances, the conduct of the Viceregal Government receives a hue of the deepest criminality. In turning from this picture, your memorialists derive unfeigned gratification from the conduct of their Irish fellow-subjects. Their national character is generous and impetuous. Their wrongs are enduring and complicated. Yet, in the midst of suffering, they are not betrayed into violence, but have sought the redress of what they deem to be grievances by constitutional means alone. Their peaceable conduct cannot be too highly applauded. While your memorialists rejoice in it, and earnestly hope it may continue to be pursued, they implore your Majesty to befriend your oppressed people, to recognise their rightful claims, and to let their peaceful and loyal expressions operate as motives to the exercise of justice towards them, and the adoption of measures by which happiness and prosperity may be universally diffused. And your memorialists would humbly entreat your Majesty to dismiss from your councils those ministers by whose rash proceedings not only have the lives of thousands been put in jeopardy, and sacred rights invaded, but the prerogative of the Crown, and the liberties of the whole British people have been endangered."

MEETING AT LEICESTER.—The requisition originating with the Complete Suffrage association of Leicester, requesting the mayor to call a meeting on the violation of constitutional liberty in Ireland, was successful. The meeting accordingly took place on Tuesday evening, in the Town hall; the mayor (W. Biggs, Esq.) having consented to take the chair. The chairman opened the proceedings with a short address, in which he stated the wrongs that Ireland endured at the hands of the British government.

Mr J. P. Mursell, baptist minister, then moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting holds the right of the people to meet for the consideration of any political grievances, and to petition the legislature in public meeting for the repeal of any statute whatever, as of the most precious and inalienable kind, and regards any infraction of this right on the part of the executive government as a violation of the most fundamental principle of the British constitution."

They had met that night to protest against the infraction of the constitutional liberties of their fellow subjects—the violation of the right of public discussion. Nor was the blow less, but more important, from its being struck at a distance. Mr Mursell then spoke at some length of the recent proceedings of the Irish people, who had "behaved with a moral grandeur he had never known equaled in the history of nations."

The Irish are indebted greatly to their leader. He has his foibles; and who has not? He has his faults; and who has not [hear]? But he has mental and moral greatness. You may talk of Napoleon, of Augustus Caesar, and Julius Caesar, and of our own Alfred; but they appear to me in many respects as infants compared with that man who has a mind as great as any that has appeared on the political theatre from the earliest date of history to the present day. That a man should be able to sway millions of people under such trying circumstances—to breathe through them the spirit of peace—that he should have the virtue to make the attempt and the power to accomplish it—would almost lead one to believe that he was an instrument in the hands of the deep and Infinite Mind. Let him live for a few years, and let him retain the patriotic feelings which I believe he entertains, and I think the liberties of Ireland will be achieved, and that without shedding of blood; and that without the separation of this country from that [cheers]. I believe that the peaceful and prudent conduct of the people will compel their rulers, either their present ones, or better men, if they can be found—to relax, to adopt some means for doing justice to Ireland; and when that is done, the repeal agitation may be given to the winds. At this moment, one of the strangest spectacles ever exhibited is passing in Ireland. It is a strange epoch in the history of the world; 30,000 soldiers, ready for the work of destruction, whenever government shall think proper to give the order, are perfectly paralyzed by the moral force of the people. Military men may now doff their epaulettes; may lay aside their regimentals. If the people thus put forth their moral power, armies will be disbanded, and the word glory will have a very different meaning from that which it has hitherto borne [cheers]. If they should send soldiers here to prevent the agitation for the repeal of the corn laws [hisses from some of the O'Connor faction] or any other great popular movement, we shall have only to appeal, as I do to-night, to the heads and hearts of our fellow townsmen, and the intentions of our enemies will be frustrated. In such a spirit we cannot but go on from conquest to conquest [applause]. May the day soon come, sir, when all nations shall meet in paternal intercourse—when charity shall be reciprocal—when they shall think together, and trade together—and when the only anxiety prevalent among us shall be who shall confer the greatest amount of good upon his fellow [loud cheering].

Mr W. Baines seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation. Mr Parker, after a brief address, proposed the second resolution:—

"That this meeting, deeply commiserating the sufferings of the Irish people, inflicted through a long series of years and under various governments, by the unwise and unjust measures of the British parliament, and feeling with them that it would be futile to expect any measure of comprehensive justice from such an administration as the present, sympathises with all well-considered measures for the relief of their grievances, and regard the late interference of government to silence by force of arms the expression of their complaints and their opinions, as an unwarrantable act of tyranny, and an invasion of the common and constitutional rights of all British subjects."

Mr G. Miall, independent minister of Ullesthorpe, in seconding the resolution, pointed out the duty of ministers with reference to political matters—politics and religion being inseparable. The Irish were charged with their difference of religious sentiment from the people of this country, but should we be likely to convert them with bayonets? The third resolution, as follows, was moved by Mr J. Bloodworth, dissenting minister, and seconded by Mr Winks:—

"That while this meeting regrets any unguarded and inflammatory language which may have been used at Repeal meetings in Ireland, it honours the exemplary moderation, loyalty, and peacefulness of the Irish people at large, especially their instantaneous and noble determination to absent themselves from the meeting at Clontarf. That it pledges itself to promote, in a purely fraternal spirit, the cause of justice to Ireland, and to resist by every constitutional means the unwarranted employment of civil and military force to suppress the voice of public discussion and petition, either in Ireland or any other portion of the British empire."

This resolution was opposed by Bairstow, the successor of Cooper to the leadership of the Leicester chartists, who proposed the following amendment, which was carried by a small majority:—

"That this meeting expresses its opinion that the people of Ireland have an undoubted right to meet for, and to possess, a repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland."

After a vote of thanks to the Mayor the meeting separated.

LEAGUE MEETING AT MANCHESTER.—On Tuesday evening week, a numerous attended meeting was held in the Free Trade hall, Manchester, to congratulate the electors of London, on their triumph over monopoly in the election of Mr Pattison. Mr Alderman Callender, Mr Alderman Brookes, Mr T. Bazley, Mr W. Rawson, Mr Brotherton, and Mr Prentice, addressed the meeting. Resolutions rejoicing in the distinguished triumph over monopoly achieved by the electors of London in the return of Mr Pattison as their representative, offering them sincere congratulations and thanks for their noble efforts in the cause of free trade, as well as an address to the electors of London, were agreed to. Mr Prentice stated that 5,000 of the electors of London were registered members of the League.

COUNTY MEETINGS.—Meetings to address the farm-

ers, on the subject of free trade, and others, have been held at Durham and Cumberland. The former was held in the market place, Durham, and was attended by Messrs Cobden and Bright; the latter at Cockermouth, in the centre of a purely agricultural district. Mr Bright was unable to attend the latter meeting, in consequence of illness, brought on by over-exertion in the cause. His place was supplied by Mr Ashworth, of Bolton. The usual free-trade resolutions were carried.

GREAT MEETING OF PIT-MEN.—On Saturday, the 21st ult, another meeting of the miners engaged in the collieries of Northumberland and Durham, took place on the Black Fell, about four miles distant from Newcastle. Upwards of 40,000 persons were present. Their object was to present an address to Mr Duncombe, M.P., who had promised to assist in removing the grievances of which they complained, and who, along with Mr Feargus O'Connor, was present at the meeting. The address was founded on the following resolutions:—

"1. That in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty, as well as the interest of this association, to adhere to the restriction system, as it is essentially necessary to our very existence as an association, to keep all our members equally employed."

"2. That, in the opinion of this meeting, a petition should be forwarded to parliament, praying for a repeal of the export duty on coal."

"3. That, in the opinion of this meeting, a more safe and efficient system of ventilation ought to be established, by sinking a greater number of shafts, and those shafts to be more equally placed; and that we petition parliament to obtain that object."

"4. That, in the opinion of this meeting, the present machines for weighing are faulty, and weigh very much out of truth. We, therefore, resolve to petition parliament to pass a measure compelling the masters of collieries to have machines on the beam-and-scale principle."

Mr Duncombe said, if he was spared with life and health, he would not fail to bring their manifold wrongs before parliament at the earliest opportunity. The meeting continued for about three hours, after which the vast assembly dispersed in an orderly and amicable manner.—*Gateshead Observer*.

THE WEEK-DAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT.—In the *Manchester Times* of Saturday we find a very interesting account of a tea-party, held in the school-room of the Independent Chapel, Chapel-street, Salford, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of cleaning the chapel, and the fitting up with desks, &c., the day-school which has lately been opened there. About five hundred persons were present, including some of the influential friends of education in the town. The Mayor (J. Kershaw, Esq.), occupied the chair, and introduced the business of the meeting in a very excellent speech. Mr. Harrison proposed—

"That the unquestionable value of education is now so generally appreciated by parents and the guardians of youth, it is unnecessary either to bribe or coerce them to send their children to school; but it is a wise and generous policy of the more affluent and intelligent, by co-operation, to afford facilities for a supply of efficient masters and suitable lesson-books and school requisites."

Mr Alderman Brooks seconded the resolution. Mr J. W. Massie (minister of the chapel,) then proceeded to explain the manner in which the school had been established:—

The week-day school we resolved upon establishing somewhere about three months ago. The proposal had been talked of two years ago in this congregation, but circumstances were not ripe for it. After the education agitation excited by Sir James Graham's Bill, our friends determined that they should have such a school. A correspondence was opened with the Education Society in London—that is the British and Foreign Schools Society—and with another Education Society in Glasgow, and with the rector of the Normal School in Edinburgh, in order that it might be determined which system we should pursue. Our friends agreed they would offer £70 a year to a teacher to undertake the school as an experiment. The first six months it should be at that rate, and at the end of this period they should determine whether it should be continued, and upon what plan. In order that we might be able to accomplish this, I proposed to my friends that, if they would raise me £60 for two years, I would take care that the school would be so arranged that it should support itself after that period, and require no more than this sum during the time. The ladies, as Mr Brooks says, are always the first in the work, and whenever I am at a loss I go to them—(Cheers). I must tell you it is the ladies that provided the tables to-night, and it is by their kindness that we are so entertained. Those ladies undertook to raise money as far as they were able, and they secured £40. The schoolmaster was employed to commence his work during the month that is now current. He began: the first week we had 127 scholars; the receipts during that time were about £1 6s. The second week we had about 194 scholars, the income was then about £2. The third week we had somewhere about 230 scholars—(applause), and the income was about £2 6s. This week fifteen more scholars have been admitted, but, in consequence of the occupation of our principal teacher during the preparation for this meeting, we have not the estimate of the income. The children attending are from about three years of age to fourteen.

They had a debt of £24, when that was paid they calculated that the school would sustain itself; and, should the school continue to prosper, they proposed to engage another competent teacher. Mr Massie explained what was taught in the school. "The first class is reading only, for which 2d. per week is charged. They are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, natural philosophy, and drawing, and other branches suited to qualify the young men who may come forth from this school for any department of mechanical industry, and for any position in society as clerks or other officials. While the females are taught plain sewing, and other accomplishments, such as knitting, &c.: and this reminds me that twenty ladies of the congregation formed themselves into a committee, to attend the school, two and two every day, to teach the children sewing and knitting."

Mr R. Massie, Independent minister of Newtown, then proposed—

"That Christianity, which conveys to mankind blessings of infinite value, secures such resources for the personal welfare and respectability of those who embrace it, is so profitable for this life as well as that which is to come, and inspires such moral dignity and generous independence in its recipients, while it so plainly inculcates its own self-sustaining energies as of divine sufficiency, that there can be no difficulty with a united and willing people to provide for their own ministrations, and to support the cause of religion generally: arrangement, proportionate distribution, and constancy in the faithful performance of our several obligations only are required."

Mr R. Fletcher, Independent minister, in seconding the resolution, stated, that connected with the chapel of which he was pastor there was a day-school with 120 scholars. He trusted that each chapel would have its day-school.—Mr Massie intimated that the proposition now submitted had a reference to a "Weekly Subscription Society," for congregational purposes, which had been resolved upon by the friends in Chapel-street Chapel; embracing the smallest periodical subscription as well as the largest that might be given. T. Morris, Esq., of Salford, then proposed the following resolution:—

"That if the people of God may render their own 'ceiled dwellings' comfortable habitations, and seek to guard their domestic altars and closets against interruptions or distractions, since, in the public sanctuary as well as in retirement, even where the spirit is willing the flesh may be weak; and the mind, always too easily diverted from the exercises of devout watching and divine converse, may become occupied with present inconveniences; it is desirable that places of worship be so prepared as will conduce to a proper feeling in the worshipper, and will not expose to evils which would be excluded from the private dwelling."

The resolution was seconded, in a brief speech, by Mr Prentice of the *Manchester Times*. Another resolution was as follows:—

"That much of the pleasure and profit of public worship depends on the congregational character as well as harmonious melody in the musical services of the sanctuary, an end which can be attained only when the psalmody is so conducted as to blend the voices and sympathies of the people, while they employ their affections and understanding in praises to God: the means best adapted for this purpose it is, therefore, the duty and privilege of a congregation to examine for themselves, and adopt according to their opportunities."

Votes of thanks were then passed to the Chairman, and to the ladies who had provided the evening's entertainment. During the proceedings of the evening, or afterward, James Kershaw, Esq., gave to the object of the meeting £5; Mr Ald. Burd gave £5; Mr Ald. Armitage, £5; Mr Ald. Brooks, £5; Mr David Ainsworth, £5; Mr W. Bickham, £1; Mr Thomas Woolley, £1; Mr Alex. Miller, 10s.; Mr W. Rawson, 10s.; and Mr John Preston offered £5 as his subscription for the erection of an organ. Many other small sums were added to the price of the tickets, but there was no collection.

SOUTH WALES.

The special commission for the trial of the Rebecca rioters, in Glamorganshire, was opened on Thursday afternoon, at Cardiff, by Mr Baron Gurney and Mr Justice Cresswell; Mr Baron Gurney delivered a long charge to the grand jury. The following is an extract:—

Excesses of this kind are never committed without some grievance, real or pretended. The alleged grievance on account of which they commenced and have been continued, was heavy tolls at turnpike-gates. When turnpike-gates were first established in England, about a century ago, it is matter of history that a large proportion of the farmers were hostile to them. They, with shortsighted policy, preferred the bad roads prepared by the parish to the good roads which were repaired with the exaction of toll. Wiser councils, however, prevailed, and to those wiser councils we are indebted for those roads which have been gradually improved, and have at last, in many parts, almost attained perfection. By the turnpike-roads many districts have been made accessible which were not so before; they have stamped an increased value on thousands and thousands of acres of valuable land. If, in the execution of plans for the improvement of the roads, any error has been committed—if the tolls imposed by act of Parliament have been too heavy, or if, where trustees had discretion vested in them, they have erred in the exercise of it, it was equally the duty and the interest of those who felt any burden which they thought they ought not to bear peaceably, to prefer their application to the legislature or to the trustees (as the case might be) for relief; and, if they believed that any illegal exaction took place, they had in their own hands a prompt remedy by application to the petty sessions; or, if they preferred it, either by indictment or by action, when a trial would have taken place at the assizes; and I will venture to say that the appeal for justice, by even the poorest member of the community, would never have been made in vain. I have always found that the claim of an oppressed man was listened to with favour in a court of justice, and ample redress afforded. If, therefore, any grievances existed in the shape of oppression or illegal tolls, there was a legal remedy. Instead of that peaceable application for redress which I have pointed out, there have been large and tumultuous assemblages of persons, generally in the night, disguised so as to escape identification. The cases which will be brought before you, though heinous in their character, are not numerous.

On the solicitation of the grand jury, Mr Baron Gurney consented to the printing of his charge. On Friday, the business commenced by the arraignment of John Hughes, the "Rebecca" concerned in the attack on the Pontardulais gate on the night of the 6th of September, at the bar.

The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr Chilton, Q.C., Mr J. Evans, Q.C., and Mr E. V. Williams appeared for the prosecution; and Mr M. D. Hill, Q.C., and Mr W. Chambers, for the prisoner. Mr M. D. Hill, as counsel for the prisoner, tendered a challenge of array of the panel of the jury: "That the said sheriff has not chosen the panel indifferently and impartially as he ought to have done, according to the law of the realm, and that the said panel is not an indifferent panel of the said county." The Attorney-General demurred, and the judges allowed the demurrer. The trial then proceeded, and was continued throughout the day. On Saturday the trial was resumed. A large

number of witnesses were examined on each side, after which Mr Hill addressed the jury for the defendant, to which the Solicitor-General replied. The judge then summed up, and at half-past four the jury brought in a verdict of "Guilty" against the prisoner, recommending him to mercy on account of his previous good conduct. Some anxiety is felt as to the effect it will produce in the principality, as there are hundreds at this moment at large, who have committed the same crime of which he has been found guilty.

On Monday David Jones and John Hugh were charged with having unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, with divers others to the number of 50, and feloniously begun to demolish and pull down a certain house in the parish of Llandilotalybon, the property of William Lewis and others. The prisoners first pleaded "Not Guilty," but, after a short conversation between their counsel and Mr H. Williams, their attorney, they withdrew their plea, and pleaded "Guilty."

After a speech from Mr Hill, Mr Baron Gurney addressed the prisoners, and sentenced David Jones and John Hugh to seven years' transportation, and John Hughes (who was convicted on Friday) to 20 years' transportation.

Morgan Morgan and Esther Morgan also pleaded "Guilty" to an indictment for being feloniously present and aiding and assisting Margaret Morgan to maliciously cut and wound Charles Frederick Napier, of Swansea, gentleman, with intent in so doing to prevent the apprehension of one Henry Morgan.

Margaret Morgan, Rees Morgan, and John Morgan, also pleaded guilty to a similar offence. Mr Baron Gurney observed, that the Attorney-General had forborne to press against them an indictment charging them with the higher and felonious offence. It was felt, however, that, notwithstanding the forbearance of the Attorney-General, an example must be made, particularly where resistance to a peace-officer had been offered, and in the manner in which that resistance had been given. The Learned Judge then sentenced Margaret Morgan to imprisonment for six months, and Rees and John Morgan for 12 months.

Mr Baron Gurney afterwards addressed the juries, which concluded the business of the special commission.

Mr Frankland Lewis has begun the inquiry into Welsh grievances in a fine spirit, which does credit to himself and the Government which appointed him. This passage in his address on opening the commission at Carmarthen extorts approval from the *Times*, even for a Poor-law Commissioner—

They (the Ministers) are most anxiously desirous to ascertain whether there be any real causes of grievance subsisting, in order that by the powers of the Executive Government or of Parliament, or of both combined, a legislative remedy may be effected; for which purpose we are here. * * * Even to wrongdoers I will say that this inquiry will be conducted with feelings of compassion and of kindness towards all. We know the infirmities of human nature, and cannot but feel deeply sorry for those who have been misled; for although the law must be upheld, we still feel (and it is my full conviction) that many have been misled from erroneous opinions, whom a wise, judicious, and I may say gentle, treatment may bring back into those right paths from which they have been induced to wander.

THE BANK OF MANCHESTER.—There was a meeting on Thursday week, of the proprietors of the bank, when a report was read as to the present state of the concern. It appears that there are still liabilities to the amount of about £400,000, and that to meet this a call for that sum was agreed upon. Mr Burdekin, as it appears, took with him about £10,000 of the money of the bank. The present call is caused by the winding up of several large accounts, much more unfavourably than was anticipated, especially those of Hilton, of Darwin, and Joseph Raleigh, of Manchester, with which two concerns the bank was a creditor for nearly £200,000. The proprietors of this bank will thus lose nearly, if not altogether, one million sterling.

REBECCA IN SOMERSETSHIRE.—On Wednesday night the turnpike gate at Sutton Weeks, near Chewstoke, was taken down, carried to a considerable distance, and thrown into a farmer's yard. The table of tolls was also removed from the front of the toll house, and placed over the door of a shoe-maker residing at some distance.—*Wiltshire Independent*.

THE NEW MOVEMENT.—On Thursday evening Mr Thomas Attwood met a numerous and most respectable body of his old political associates at the Public office, when a long conversation took place relative to the formation of the National union, after which several gentlemen attached their names to the document submitted by Mr Attwood, which we shall probably have the pleasure of submitting to the public in our next number.—*Birmingham Journal*.

LATE HOURS OF BUSINESS.—A public meeting was held at the Athenæum, Bishop street, Portsea, to consider the propriety of adopting some means of reducing the hours of business in Portsmouth, Portsea, Southsea, and Landport. The Mayor presided, and the vicar of Portsmouth, Messrs Brown, Dewdney, Hawkes, Morris, Room, Loutit, Alderman Bilton, Dr Meadows, Mr John Sheppard, and many other influential inhabitants, took part in the proceedings, which ended in the appointment of a committee to carry the object into effect.—*Hants Independent*.

AMALGAMATION OF RAILWAYS.—Special meetings of the Eastern Counties and Northern and Eastern Railway companies were held on Thursday, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of adopting and carrying into effect the scheme of an amalgamation

of the two lines. The Northern and Eastern shareholders readily accepted the offer made by the Eastern Counties directors of leasing their line in perpetuity, at the rate of five per cent. upon their capital of £960,000, with the other contingent advantages which the contract holds forth.

IRELAND.

STATE OF IRELAND.—The fearful picture of the state of the country drawn by a correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, under the signature *Philaethes*, a portion of whose letter was lately quoted in the *Nonconformist*, induced the editor of the *Banner of Ulster* to endeavour to ascertain the truth of this description from some competent authority. Mr. Godkin, the well-known missionary of the independent denomination, and author of several works on Popery, and who has been engaged for some years in itinerating in the southern counties, was applied to. The result was a letter from that gentleman appearing in the *Banner* of Saturday, and from which we subjoin the more important extracts.

You are aware that I must be well acquainted with the state of feeling in the south. During the last six months I have travelled through twelve counties, and conversed with people of all sects and parties. I have made the condition of the people my special study in town and country, and have availed myself of every source of authentic information. My opportunities of knowing them are very different from those enjoyed by an English tourist, who is liable to be imposed on by every wag who stands jesting in the market-place, uttering the most extravagant things, just that his wit may raise a laugh, and that he may enjoy the stranger's astonishment.

You know I am an earnest Protestant, and no Repealer. Mine is no partial testimony; nor, as I said, is it founded on a hasty glance at the surface of Irish society. I have sat for hours at the fireside in confidential discourse with the most intelligent Roman Catholics. One of them, the best informed peasant I ever knew, remained with me last night till eleven o'clock, talking on religion and politics, though he had four miles to go home in the rain. From him, and others like him, as well as from close observation, and reading their publications, I have learned the real state of feeling through the country, and can speak on it with the utmost confidence.

First, then, I can assure you that, in most parts of the south and west, the peasantry, and the town population too, are deeply discontented. The former are to a great extent unemployed, rack-rented, half-naked, and half-starved, while the latter are universally complaining of the want of business. The blame of this state of things is partly laid on the Government, but chiefly, and in my opinion justly, on the landlords. Their neglect of their tenantry is almost incredible. I was lately among the mountains of Clare, and my heart was saddened with the information I received from a Protestant gentleman, and with what I saw around me. Their absenteeism is a curse, but their residence is seldom a blessing. If they do not corrupt the community by their example, they rarely improve it; of course there are exceptions, and they deserve credit for doing their duty. But it is a mistake to suppose that resident landlords, as a matter of course, spend their money in the country. So intensely anti-Irish are some of them that they import everything—every servant, every steward, every yard of cloth, every ounce of groceries—every article, in short, that is consumed, except what grows on their own demesnes! They give their field-labourers, indeed, eightpence a day, but this is all of their money that circulates through the country. They complain of Irish servants and stewards as inferior; but why don't they look out among their tenantry for decent young men and women, and train them for situations? Why not send a few of them to England or Scotland, that they may cultivate the habits required, and then help to raise their relatives and neighbours by their example? No, no; our gentry toss the nose at everything Irish.

In utter hopelessness of any relief from landlord or legislator, and sinking under intolerable burdens, the poor people have, I admit, thrown their whole souls into the repeal movement. This is certainly the fact, and a painful fact it is; but remove the cause, and you remove the effect. The priests go with them—some of them reluctantly—but many heartily, enthusiastically. They look for the separation of the Church from the State as a *sine qua non*; and, should the establishment be obstinately maintained, they are not without hopes that some lucky turn in the affairs of Europe will transfer the temporalities to themselves as the national priesthood.

I am, however, persuaded that the policy of peaceful agitation is deeply rooted as a first principle in the Roman Catholic mind of Ireland. They are a patient people. Can Roman Catholics who send sour butter-milk eight or ten miles to market, in order to pay tithes to an absentee rector, be blamed for sometimes complaining over the dinner of "dry" lumps? Yet, except the very lowest and most ignorant (who will be always led by those above them), no one thinks of insurrection, rebellion, or massacre, unless it be to laugh at it as the dream of a madman. They allude, indeed, to war—use martial language—and talk of their military resources; but the design of this is to raise the spirit of the people—to give them the feeling of conscious strength—and to make their rulers uneasy. Further they have not the slightest intention of going. The priests are not for rebellion; they know it would be impolitic—ruinous to their cause. Nor are the people for massacre. Let no one dread a Bartholomew in Ireland! No; I believe a gracious Providence is overruling this agitation for good, fraught as it may be with present evil. The benign principles of peace are inculcated and warmly cherished; temperance and self-control are established in the national character; nor do I think it is in vain that the leaders of the repeal movement urge the suppression of religious animosities. Certainly toleration is fast gaining ground among the people; and I am assured by Protestants thinly scattered among Roman Catholics, that they find them more civil and neighbourly than formerly. In a large parish in Clare there are only thirty Protestants. I asked one of them lately, an intelligent young farmer, whether he was annoyed on account of his religion. He assured me he was not in the least—that "the people made no more difference with him than if he were one of themselves." In this same county I was rowed nearly three miles on

a lake on a dark and stormy night by Roman Catholics, after preaching a controversial sermon, to which several ventured to listen, though under the surveillance of a repeal warden. Surely, if any man should dread a religious war—a massacre of Protestants—I ought! And yet, so thoroughly am I acquainted with the feelings of the people, and so great is my confidence in them, that I travel as securely and sleep as soundly among the wildest mountains, and in the loneliest habitations, as if I were in London.

For the sake of my country's character, which has been vilified beyond any other on the face of the earth, and in order, if possible, to quiet the fears of Protestants, who I know are in many places labouring under distressing alarms, I have felt called on to give you thus candidly my impressions, which I hope will be found more in accordance with facts than the nervous apprehensions of *Philalethes*.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

The Association met again on Tuesday. Some of the "Liberal" reporters had objected to associating with the Government short-hand writer; and accordingly a separate desk was provided for him, labelled "For the Government Reporters." Mr O'Neill sent a letter complaining of the reports of his speech in the Dublin papers, which did not at all convey his ideas; and Mr O'Connell moved "that Mr O'Neill be requested to furnish an authentic copy of his speech, to be printed and circulated by the Association." The Rev. Tresham Gregg procured admittance, and, with much importunity and profession of a desire to observe rules, obtained a hearing for something which he had to say of a "conciliatory" kind; it proved that he objected, as a wrong against himself, to a resolution passed by the Association, "that the thanks of the Irish people are due to Mr O'Brien for his letter!" He endeavoured to extend his observations, but was quietly ejected. Business was then proceeded with. A letter was read from Mr Caleb Powell, Mr Smith O'Brien's colleague in the representation of Limerick, intimating his adhesion to the Association, and enclosing £5 as his subscription. Mr O'Connell recurred to the letters of Mr Trevelyan, the party who is said to have written the letters in the *Morning Chronicle*, under the signature *Philalethes*.

He was, Mr O'Connell understood, a brother-in-law or some near relative of Mr B. Macaulay; which would argue some connection with the Whigs, though he was an employé of the Tories. He had heard he was a gentleman of some talent, but of great irritability of temperament, and therefore very likely to be made a fool of by every sheer shrewd Irishman who came across him. Among other falsehoods, he had stated that the Protestants of Munster were afraid of repeal, because they thought, if carried, it would endanger their lives and properties. Now, he gave *Philalethes*, as a set-off to that statement, two Protestants of Munster, Mr W. S. O'Brien, who, with all his connections, was Protestant, and Mr C. Powell, whose family had been Protestant from the time they had come to Ireland. Both these Munster Protestants were Repealers. He wondered at the *Chronicle's* insertion of these shameful letters. He told Sir John Easthope it was more than his baronetcy was worth to join against the Irish people at such a time as the present—(Loud cheers). He understood, too, that an unhappy Irishman named Doyle was the editor of the paper; but that was only another proof of the saying, "that if any cut-throat thing were to be done against Ireland, there could always be found an Irishman to do it"—(Cheers and groans).

Letters were read from Sir R. Musgrave, Sir Charles Wolseley, of Staffordshire, and Mr R. de la Poer French, "first cousin of the Tory Lord Clancarty," the two latter enclosing subscriptions. Mr O'Connell made more speeches, alluding to a variety of topics. He advocated "conciliation" of all classes. He wished to conciliate England, but he saw no prospect of success were he to attempt it:—

He had received a letter from an American gentleman who had travelled in England, and who declared to him that he found the people of that country, not excepting the most wealthy classes, unanimous only in the disgust, hatred, and contempt, which they bore towards the people of Ireland. The Whigs were at present engaged in a by-battle of their own, endeavouring to filch power for themselves, to steal into authority, and to make use of Ireland as an instrument for that purpose; although, with characteristic duplicity and falsehood, they would trample her under foot the moment they obtained it. The Whigs, therefore, he did not want to conciliate, for he thought them a false and treacherous party. It was said that they ought to conciliate certain Reformers of England, with Joseph Sturge at their head: but their number was small, and not likely to increase. No one more desired that they might become strong and powerful than he did; but he confessed that his apprehension on the subject exceeded his hopes.

He most wanted to conciliate all Ireland, including the Presbyterians of the north. Ireland could only be restored to her place as a nation by Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic amalgamating themselves as Irishmen; and he called on all Irishmen to unite themselves for repeal, on the basis of freedom of conscience to all men, ascendancy to none. A committee was instructed to prepare an address setting forth the declaration of that principle.

Mr O'Connell stated that, in consequence of the irritated state of the country, the parish meetings to petition the Queen and Parliament would not be simultaneous, but barony after barony would be enrolled successively.

The meeting adjourned to Monday.

THE STATE PROSECUTIONS.

In speaking of the prosecution of the repeal leaders, the *Dublin Evening Post*—the recognised organ of the Irish Government—says:—

We have reason to know that nothing has been left undone which could be done to forward the prosecutions, and that the blow struck will be followed up with a vigour which never has been exceeded in such a case.

* * * We look forward to the 2d of November, the first day of term, with full confidence that the law officers of the Crown will be at their posts, fighting the battle of

the constitution. We have every reason to hope that the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench will take his seat in court on that day, and deliver a charge to the grand juries, one of which will have to consider the indictments. We have also reason to believe that a trial will be had during the next term, spite of every effort of the conspirators, whose game, we may fairly presume, will be that of procrastination, commonly called by the dock phrase of "a long day, my lord." A long day, indeed, the conspirators have had, but their day draws to a close—the crisis is upon them. Of the result we do not entertain a scintilla of doubt.

The writer of the above, who boasts to the Orange party that there is not "a scintilla of doubt" of a conviction, is one of the special jury panel—a panel framed contrary to the jury law, and upon which there are five Protestants to one Roman Catholic.

The *Times* correspondent says that all idea of traversing *in prox.* has been put an end to by the discovery that the question was raised and overruled on a former prosecution of Mr O'Connell during the Attorney-Generalship of Mr Blackburne, the present Master of the Rolls.

THE PROSECUTION AGAINST MR STEELE.—I have learned that Mr Steele, who intends to defend himself without counsel, as he did before, has given instructions to his solicitor to wait upon the late Irish Chancellor, Lord Plunkett, to ask his lordship when it would be his convenience to receive a subpoena, as, in case the trials should go on, it is the intention of Mr Steele to examine his lordship as his principal witness. Mr Steele holds that Lord Plunkett, as well as the late Mr Bushe, chief justice of the Queen's Bench, and the late Mr William Saurin, formerly attorney-general, all declared, in the Irish Parliament, that the union would be a nullity, by reason of the iniquitous means by which it was carried. The other witnesses whom Mr Steele proposes to examine are, first, Sir Robert Peel; secondly, Frederick Bond Hughes, the Government reporter; thirdly, the Duke of Wellington; fourthly, Lord Lyndhurst; and, fifthly, Sir James Graham.

MR H. GRATTAN, M.P.—This gentleman, who represents the county of Meath, and has been for some time out of the country, has written a long letter to his constituents, in which he expresses his cordial approval of the recent proceedings of the repealers, strongly condemns the arbitrary conduct of Government, and advises perseverance in the path of repeal:—

If you doubt my words or distrust my opinion, you shall learn them of another individual—the man who, in 1782, aided by Lord Charlemont and 100,000 armed volunteers, peaceably obtained the independence of their country. By their order, steadiness, and perseverance, they gained, after five years' hard struggles, more for Ireland than England ever got or ever gave; they gained for themselves and their country, not only a constitution, but a name, and they left behind them rays of glory everlasting—rays which, thanks be to God, continue still to illumine Ireland, and which, under Divine Providence, will light her children on their perilous journey to the land of promise; they will be happy because united—and prosperous, because free.

He concludes by announcing a subscription of £5 to the repeal cause, which, if necessary, he will double again and again.

MR SMITH O'BRIEN, M.P.—It appears that a grand banquet is likely to take place in Limerick in honour of this gentleman, got up by the repealers of the south of Ireland, at which Mr O'Connell will preside. Mr O'Brien has also accepted an invitation to a public dinner at Newcastle.

THE ARMS ACT.—The Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland have fixed on the 13th of November as the day on which the Irish Arms Act is to come into operation.

LANDLORD AND TENANT.—Speaking of the relations of landlord and tenant, the *Pilot* says:—"Already preparations are being made to legislate on the subject. A commission is about to be appointed to make the necessary inquiries; and the animus of that project may be judged by the fact, that the chairman is likely to be a Catholic Member of Parliament, with power to appoint his own secretaries. We believe Lord Eliot will not contradict us—verily, the Canadian policy is about to be adopted. Oh that it may not be too late!" The *Freeman's Journal* states that the chairmanship of the commission had been offered to Mr. More O'Ferrall; who declined it.

ADHESION TO REPEAL.—Dr. Slattery, the titular Archbishop of Cashel, has sent a letter to Mr. O'Connell, stating that the events of the last few weeks have overcome the writer's disinclination to mix in politics; and accordingly he encloses £3 as his subscription, and requests to be enrolled a member of the Repeal Association.

Lord Cardigan is reported to have instituted legal proceedings against the *Times*, for libel; and against the *Freeman's Journal*, for publishing a letter signed "Captain Outall," which said, in what was meant for satire, that Lord Cardigan had volunteered to take the lead against the Repealers at Clontarf.

THE IRISH CHURCH.—The Dublin correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* asserts that an official gentleman, who has been at work for six months, is engaged in completing by the next session of Parliament, an elaborate statement of the revenues of the Irish Church Establishment, arranged in a tabular form, embracing each individual parish, and specifying the income of the incumbent, the number of Protestant parishioners, whether or not there is a church in the parish, and other details.

THE WARLIKE PREPARATIONS.—The military reinforcements, under orders for service in Ireland, have, it is supposed here, been retarded in their arrival by the inclement state of the weather, and the consequent danger of exposing the troops to its vicissitudes. Nevertheless, preparations for their reception are being made with all possible despatch; and

the authorities are, it is said, in treaty for the purchase of houses and other buildings capable of affording accommodation for the large force which will be concentrated here before many days elapse. In the mean time, the perplexing question of "What does it all mean?" remains a riddle, the solution of which must be left to time, the puzzled contenting themselves with the half assurance that the country has been placed in a position successfully to resist any foe, foreign or domestic, apparently because a few unruly gentlemen are to answer for their misdeemeanors before the court of Queen's Bench in the course of the ensuing term.—*Times*.

FEDERALISM.—Of the success of Mr Sturge's mission to Ireland (says the *Times* correspondent), and of the result of his interviews with Mr O'Connell, nothing is known beyond mere rumours, one of which has it that the negotiations were not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the Birmingham delegate giving it as his opinion that the leader of the Irish people was pursuing a course which must for ever preclude the possibility of an amalgamation of the English and Irish reformers. This, however, is mere report. Meanwhile, a new light seems to have broken in upon gentlemen of the whig school, who have suddenly discovered that, after all, the repeal agitation is not the bugbear they conceived it to be when their own party was in the ascendant; and it is probable that the ranks of the association will, ere long, include among its members many influential persons belonging to this party. The *Belfast Vindicator* says, that Mr Ross, the member for Belfast, has declared himself a federalist. It was rumoured in Dublin that Mr R. Lalor Sheil and Mr T. Wyse, both members of the late ministry, were about to join the Repeal association.

ARBITRATION COURTS.—On Thursday the arbitration court of Rathmines was opened; Mr J. Augustus O'Neil presiding, who delivered a short address on the occasion, from which the following is an extract:—

With regard to the legality of the court, he had heard it alleged that it was illegal for a number of persons to come together, as they had done, for the purpose of adjudicating on such cases as might be brought before them, but he had never heard that statement from any authority on which reliance ought to be placed. He looked in vain for any official declaration from the government, that such a court was an illegally constituted tribunal; and in the absence of all such information on the part of the executive, who had full notice that they were about to sit, and who, if there were anything objectionable in the system, were bound to state officially their opinion upon it, he felt entitled to assume that it was not illegal, and they accordingly proceeded to hold that court.

Messrs P. O'Brien, F. O'Brien, Hodgins, Fitzsimon, and C. G. Duffy, of the Nation newspaper, were the arbitrators present. No case came before the court. The courts continue to hold their sittings in various parts of the country.

SCOTLAND.

SOIREE IN HONOUR OF MR DUNCOMBE.—On Monday evening (says the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*), the honourable member for Finsbury was entertained by a numerous body of the reformers of Edinburgh, at a soiree in the large Waterloo room. The hall was respectably filled, but by no means crowded. A number of ladies were present. The chair was occupied by John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch. The tea, coffee, and accompanying viands, were excellent and abundant. When the repast was finished, the Chairman opened the proceedings by a few introductory remarks in reference to the progress of freedom, and then called on Dr Ritchie, who proposed the sentiment, "Civil and religious liberty." He commenced—

He surveyed with no small pleasure this meeting—convened not by what is commonly termed "authority," but by the spontaneous, or to use a term to him more familiar, voluntary exercise of that whence springs all authority—"the people"—not convened to vow subservience to some titled aristocrat, whose title is often his only recommendation; but in deference to one of the people whose place in the legislature is derived from the people; one, a due sprinkling of whom in the House of which he is a member might almost make me swallow the fiction that it is still the "Commons House." They were met to honour their guest—not that he was a man of blood, nor that he belonged to the gallant incorporation of European Decoits or licensed murderers, nor that he has returned from the slaughter of his fellow men at a distance of more than half the globe, and come home to be settled as a shabby-genteel pensioned pauper on an overburdened people. They were met to honour him who had sustained the people's rights, fought their battles, and done what he might to extend their liberties. Such a man they delighted to honour, because a *rara avis in terris*, because on such they looked with deeper interest in the hour of unequal combat, than in that of conquest. They rejoiced to think that such men can now get into parliament; they are like wedges entered into the mass of corruption, they will split it into fragments, the very dust of which will by-and-by be swept away by the resistless breeze of "universal suffrage." Such blessings are needed.

He then took a general view of the state of the country in relation to civil and religious liberty, illustrating his subject with a humour and effect that elicited the reiterated applause of the meeting. The following is a specimen:—

Again—Is that the land of liberty whose mercenary bayonets swarm as thick as mosquitos in a Texian swamp? Or that, where a cabinet's pen may make it death or exile to cry under the lash of torture, and have the power to allow the people to meet for the discussion of any but their own interests? Or that, where industry is in hovels, while indolence occupies palaces outnumbering his fancied wants? Or that, where honest ingenuity is in fetters, while licensed robbery and murder range at large, monopolise honours patent, wallow in a nation's wealth, and deposit their loathsome carcase in nation-reared aisles? Or that, where one, because he happens to be the first of a family, has wealth and profligacy

guaranteed, while the rest, perhaps in dozens, are quartered on a famine-wasted operativism? Or that, whose labourer must pay to titled scoundrels a moiety of his hard-won loaf, ere it reach his crying children? Or that, where royal donkies have assigned them palaces at £70,000 price—where equally royal puppies tenant kennels worth £12,000, while labouring men, who create the pounds, are left with wives and children to bite their empty cribs? Or that, the redress of whose people's grievances assumes the form of bayonets, sabres, and carronades, and whose houseless labourers may, at an hour's notice, be constrained to rear a barrack for tens of thousands to drill them into order? Verily Virgil would have said, "*Vos non vobis edificatis!*" Or that, whose judges, by the date of their appointments, indicate to a moment what party-politics then held the reins? Or that, whose ports are ever open for every blackleg to bilk his vagabond brother by his "cut and run" for Boulogne, whither are regularly transmitted by his gripping steward the rents of that estate "not his own," which ought to have been handed over to his honest and over-credulous creditors, while these ports are ever and anon, as the scale slides, shut upon the staff of bread, which, but for this, would have come over to the help of the poor man and the indigent? Or that, where ignorance is, for oblique purposes, conserved and stereotyped, and where, that the mind be enslaved, its education is denied, or transmitted through a cathedral sieve, so that it is not eatable, save by the dogs that are willing to occupy a lair beneath the rich man's table? Are these the characteristics of the land where liberty dwells? If so, it is neither far to seek, nor ill to find.

Mr Dunlop then introduced Mr Duncombe, in a glowing and well-merited eulogy upon the character of the hon. member for Finsbury. Mr Duncombe, on rising, was received with loud cheers. He addressed the meeting at considerable length.

He alluded to the flattering manner in which he had been invited, and expressed regret at the appearance of a schism among the reformers of Edinburgh, by which he was prevented from meeting with them all under one roof. He explained the delicacy of his situation in being invited by both sections, and said he had put himself into the hands of the soirée committee, who had agreed to his going afterwards to the meeting in the St Cecilia hall. He had expressed a wish to go there, for he conceived he might, by doing so, be able to do something to reconcile the differences which had unfortunately sprung up between them. He spoke with great earnestness on the necessity of union among reformers. So long as they were divided, no matter how active and earnest they might be, they would be treated with contempt by the ruling classes. But let them once enter into cordial union, they would have their claims respected and conceded. Mr D. reprobated the fastidiousness that would quarrel with a cause because of the imprudences or blemishes of individuals taking part in it; and said that the only wise course was to adhere to just principles, regardless of the persons we might be called on to co-operate with in carrying them into effect. He spoke of the charter, and said he adopted it, name and all, and he saw no wisdom in rejecting the name while admitting its principles to be sound. He spoke with pride of the great national petition which he had the honour to present to the House of Commons; and alluded to his motion regarding Lord Abinger's political charge to the jury on the chartist trials. He dwelt with much feeling on the infamous treatment of political prisoners, and made some severe remarks on the conduct of government in introducing the Chelsea Pensioners bill at the very close of the session, and in commencing a system of arbitrary measures against Ireland after the prorogation of parliament.

The honourable gentleman was frequently interrupted by applause from the audience, and on resuming his seat was loudly cheered. His appearance is sprightly and prepossessing, and his style of oratory plain, unaffected, clear, and forcible. Almost immediately after the close of his speech, Mr Duncombe withdrew to attend the meeting in St Cecilia hall, and was followed by a considerable number of individuals. Mr James Robertson, dissenting minister, of Newington, then delivered an eloquent speech on the sentiment, "The speedy attainment of universal or complete suffrage, and the other points necessary to secure its free exercise." The next sentiment, "The newspaper press; may it universally become the advocate of the people's rights," was spoken to by Mr Watson. "The cordial union of all reformers" was given by Mr Rankine. Thanks were then voted to the chairman, on the motion of Mr Blaikie, and the meeting broke up a little before eleven o'clock.

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 18, at the independent chapel, Townley street, Macclesfield, Mr J. W. LANE, draper, to MARY ANN, third daughter of Mr James RATHBONE, all of Macclesfield.

Oct. 23, at Henage Street chapel, Birmingham, by Mr T. Morgan, minister of the gospel, Mr JOHN ERRINGTON, of Northampton, second son of the late Thomas Errington, gent., of Wold, to ELLEN, youngest daughter of the late Joseph JANOM, of Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire.

Oct. 24, at the dissenting meeting house, Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, by Mr E. Stephens, dissenting minister, GEORGE LIVETT, Esq., Regent street, Cambridge, to EMILY HANNAH, daughter of the late John CHAPLIN, Esq., of the former place.

Oct. 25, the Right Hon. EDWARD ELLICE, M.P. for Coventry, at St George's church, Hanover square, to ANNE, Dowager Countess of Leicester, eldest daughter of the Earl of Albemarle, and relict of the late Earl of Leicester.

Oct. 25, at the independent chapel, Alston, Cumberland, by Mr T. Seales, independent minister of Leeds, Mr ALFRED SCALES, of Stowmarket, Suffolk, to SARAH ANGAS, daughter of Thomas DICKINSON, Esq., of Spensy Croft, near Alston. It was the first marriage solemnised in the said chapel.

Oct. 26, at Oxford Place chapel, Leeds, SAMUEL, the second son of Mr S. WALKER, maltster, Munslet, to ELIZABETH WOOD, only daughter of the late Mr George Milnes, of Leeds.

Oct. 26, at Hanover chapel, Halifax, Mr JOHN CROSSLEY, of Brighouse, to EMMA, eldest sister of Thomas HUGHES, Esq., of the Hollings, near Halifax.

Oct. 28, at Brighton, by Mr Joseph Sortain, B.A., independent minister, Mr SAMUEL SEARLE, of Clapton, to ELIZA, youngest daughter of the late Thomas RIDLEY, Esq.

DEATHS.

Oct. 16, after a long illness, borne with exemplary patience and resignation, Mr GEORGE STONEHOUSE, for nearly thirty years the faithful and respected pastor of the Baptist church, Cranbrook, Kent.

Oct. 18, Miss ANNE G. EVERETT, eldest daughter of the American minister, at his Excellency's residence in Grosvenor place.

Oct. 19, in his 78th year, Wm GREAVES, Esq., of Clapham

common, near London. The deceased was a native of Hebden Bridge, and for several years occupied an important station in the family of Dr Fawcett, as an instructor of youth. For upwards of thirty years he conducted a highly respectable seminary at Clapham, and received considerable patronage from persons of great influence. He was the honoured tutor of T. B. Macaulay, Esq., M.P., and many other influential characters; and through life was distinguished for piety, benevolence, and faithful attachment to his friends.

Oct. 19, at Bristol, on his way from Waterford to London, aged 38, Mr S. M. Morgan, secretary to the Irish society of London.

Oct. 21, at Castle street, Bristol, aged 69, Mrs LYDIA CLEMENT, relict of the late Mr Francis Clement, of Hackney, after a season of affliction of ten years' duration, borne with Christian patience and submission, and terminated suddenly.

Oct. 22, at his house in America square, Sir JAMES SHAW, Bart, late Chamberlain of London, in his 80th year.

Oct. 23, at his residence, Salisbury, WADHAM WYNDHAM, Esq., M.P. Mr Wyndham represented the church and conservatives of that city in parliament for many years.

Oct. 26, at Royston, FRANCES JANE, the infant daughter of Mr S. S. ENGLAND, independent minister, aged ten weeks.

Oct. 31, in London, the wife of Mr S. S. ENGLAND, of Royston, in her thirty-third year.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Oct. 27.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 85:—

The Methodist New Connexion chapel, Macclesfield, Cheshire. BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED. ALLEN, JOHN, Alfreton, Derbyshire, innkeeper.

BANKRUPTCY. FARRANT, JOHN BROOM LEMAN, Maidstone, Kent, agricultural machine maker, Nov. 9, Dec. 5: solicitors, Messrs Palmer and Co., Bedford row, London.

FLORANCE, EDMUND, jun., Subdeanery, Sussex, potato dealer, Nov. 7, Dec. 5: solicitors, Messrs Staniland and Long, Bouverie street, London.

GASKELL, WILLIAM BRIDGWOOD, Birmingham, draper, Nov. 8, 29: solicitors, Messrs Milson and Co., Temple, London, and Messrs Crossley and Sudlow, Manchester.

YOUNG, ROBERT, and REYNOLDS, WILLIAM, Liverpool, cheese factors, Nov. 10, Dec. 8: solicitors, Mr J. Cornthwaite, Liverpool, and Messrs Cornthwaite and Adams, Dean's court, Doctors' Commons, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DAVIDSON, PETER, jun., and Co., Dundee and Cork, fish curers, Nov. 7, 27.

M'CALLUM, WILLIAM, Glasgow, merchant, Nov. 3, 24.

RANKIN, ROBERT, and Co., Glasgow, leather cutters, Nov. 2, 30.

WARDEN, ARCHIBALD, and Co., Glasgow, merchants, Nov. 1, 22.

Tuesday, October 31st.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 85:—

Tower-hill chapel, Fishguard, Pembrokeshire. The Calvinistic Methodist chapel, Woodstock cross, Pembrokeshire.

The Wesleyan Association chapel, Lancaster.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BURGESS, SAMUEL, now or late of Dunstable, Bedfordshire, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

MORLEY, HENRY WILLIAM, 36, Dean street, Soho, tailor, November 10, December 13: solicitors, Messrs Rixon and Son, Jewry street, Aldgate.

PHILLIPS, JOHN, Hall court, Old Broad street, tailor, November 10, December 13: solicitor, Mr Yonge, Tokenhouse yard.

LECESNE, LEWIS CELESTE, 11, Fenchurch buildings, Fenchurch street, City, merchant, Nov. 14, Dec. 12: solicitors, Messrs Gregson and Co., Angel court, Throgmorton street.

PICKFORD, WILLIAM, and CLAPTON, HENRY GAME, Bristol, warehousemen, Nov. 13, Dec. 12: solicitors, Mr Francis Short, Bristol; and Messrs White and Eyre, Bedford row, London.

GRAND, ROBERT, Old Jewry chambers, City, merchant, November 10, December 13: solicitors, Messrs Crowder and Maynard, Coleman street.

MASON, AMBROSE, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, coach proprietor, November 8, December 13: solicitors, Messrs Turner and Hensman, Basing lane, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, WILLIAM, Leith, writer, November 3, 24.

BARCLAY, JOHN, jun., Montrose, merchant, November 3, 24.

PATRICK, or MORRISON, DINAH, and MORRISON, JAMES, Falkirk, farmers, November 4, 30.

WEIR, JOHN, Cumnock, Ayrshire, ironmonger, November 7, 30.

BRITISH FUNDS.

At the Stock exchange, business since our last has maintained a steady though quiet appearance; and, under the influence of the general abundance of money, quotations continue gradually to advance.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
4 per cent. Consols	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
5 per cent. Consols	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per cent. Reduced	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
3½ per cent. Reduced	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½
New 3½ per cent.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	180	180	179½	—	179½	—
India Stock	269½	268	269	270½	270	—
Exchequer Bills	64pm	64pm	64pm	62pm	62pm	63pm
India Bonds	74pm	74pm	74pm	—	73pm	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	115½	Mexican	31
Belgian	105½	Peruvian	22½
Brazilian	73	Portuguese 5 per cents	43
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	35	Russian	115½
Danish	85	Spanish Active	20½
Dutch 2½ per cents	54	Ditto Passive	5
Ditto 5 per cents	99½	Ditto Deferred	—

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	50	London and Brighton	37
Birmingham & Gloucester	—	London & Croydon/Trunk	13
Blackwall	4	London and Greenwich	4½
Bristol and Exeter	59½	Ditto New	41
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	—	Manchester & Birm.	34
Eastern Counties	9½	Manchester and Leeds	84
Edinburgh and Glasgow	53½	Midland Counties	70
Great North of England	—	Ditto Quarter Shares	20
Great Western	89	North Midland	81
Ditto New	64	Ditto New	40
Ditto Fifties	163	South Eastern and Dover	27
London and Birmingham	219	South Western	67
Ditto Quarter Shares	23	Ditto New	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Oct. 30.

We had a good show of wheat this morning; and, the condition of the samples being affected by the weather, sales proceeded very slowly. The best parcels brought the quotations of this day week, but secondary sorts, though offered 1s. per qr lower, were dull of sale.

Barley excited more attention, particularly fine malting kinds; and rather higher prices were paid.

Beans and peas found buyers at former terms.

Oats were taken off freely at an advance of 1s. per qr.

Wheat, Red New	44 to 52	Malt, Ordinary	42 to 52
Fine	54 to 62	Pale	54 to 58
White	45 to 54	Rye	34 to 37
Fine	56 to 64	Peas, Hog	29 to 31
Flour, per sack	42 to 50	Maple	30 to 31
Barley	26 to 30	Boilers	36 to 39
Malting	32 to 35	Beans, Ticks	21 to 29
Beans, Pigeon	29 to 34	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.	
Harrow	28 to 31	Wheat	20s. 0d.
Oats, Feed	18 to 21	Barley	8 0
Fine	20 to 23	Oats	8 0
Poland	20 to 23	Rye	10 6
Potato	20 to 23	Beans	10 6
		Peas	10 6
WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR OCT. 27.			
Wheat	50s. 1d.	Wheat	50s. 2d.
Barley	30 4	Barley	30 7
Oats	17 0	Oats	18 0
Rye	29 10	Rye	30 1
Beans	30 5	Beans	30 6
Peas	32 8	Peas	32 8
AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.			
Wheat	50s. 2d.	Wheat	50s. 2d.
Barley	30 7	Barley	30 7
Oats	18 0	Oats	18 0
Rye	30 1	Rye	30 1
Beans	30 6	Beans	30 6
Peas	32 8	Peas	32 8

SEEDS.

There is some little inquiry for fine new red cloverseed, but other sorts are neglected, as well as trefoil, and prices remain nominally as last quoted. There was a fair quantity of canaryseed on sale; and though very high prices were at first asked, ultimately rather lower rates than those current last week were taken. In other species of seeds very little doing.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per cwt
English, sowing	50s. to 60s.	English, red	46s. to 65s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white	—
Ditto, crushing	35 to 40	Flemish, pale	44 to 52
Medit. & Odessa	39 to 41	Ditto, fine	51 to 75
Hempseed, small	35 to 38	New Hamb., red	—
Large	36 to 38	Ditto, fine	—
Canary, new	69 to 70	Old Hamb., red	42 to 52
Extra	—	Ditto, fine	50 to 75
Caraway, old	—	French, red	42 to 56
New	44 to 48	Ditto, white	—
Ryegrass, English	—	Coriander	15 to 20
Scotch	—	Old	—
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per last
Brown, new	9 to 11	English, new	25s. to 26s.
White	6 to 8	Linseed cakes	—
Trefoil	18 to 30	English	9s. 10s. to 10s. 0s.
Old	14 to 22	Foreign	5s. to 6s. 10s.
Tares, new	5 to 5 3	Rapeseed cakes	5s. 5s. to 5s. 10s.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Oct. 30.

There is a brisker market for hops, and in the value of Sussex and Wealds we quote a rise of 2s. to 4s. per cwt. The duty is still kept at £135,000, which we presume therefore will come near the official declaration. The rates now current are these:—Pockets, 1843—Sussex, 105s. to 112s.; Wealds, 112s. to 116s.; ditto choice, 120s.; Mid. Kents, 135s. to 180s.; East Kents, 130s. to 195s.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Oct. 30.

Irish butter was more cautiously and sparingly dealt in during the past week, and the market not so strongly supported. The transactions were few and unimportant. Prices same as last quoted. Foreign—demand dull, and fully 2s. per cwt lower in price. Friesland, 91s. to 98s. Of bacon the demand is quite equal to the arrivals of prime new; sizeable at 40s. to 42s., and heavy at 35s. to 37s.; old has been in fair sale at from 26s. to 32s. per cwt landed. In sales of new, for forward months, scarcely anything done. Nothing new to report of hams or lard, or bale and tierce middles.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 30.

The unfavourable state of the weather for slaughtering, and the large quantities of dead meat on sale, produced considerable heaviness in the demand for beef; indeed, for some hours it was in a state of complete stagnation, notwithstanding the attendance of butchers was numerous. A few of the very primest Scots found buyers, at prices about equal to those obtained on this day se'night, but the general quotation of beef declined quite 2d. per 8lbs., and nearly 400 beasts were turned out unsold. The numbers of sheep were not very great, yet they were more than adequate to meet the wants of the dealers. The mutton trade ruled excessively dull, and the currencies were quite 2d. per 8lbs. beneath those realised last week. We scarcely ever recollect so dull an inquiry for veal, the value of which receded from 2d. to 4d. per 8lbs. Prime small porkers sold freely, other kinds of pork slowly, at barely late rates.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 6d. to 3s. 8d.	Veal	3s. 0d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	2 8 to 4 2	Pork	2 10 to 3 10

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	562	4,700	201	389
Monday	3,777	30,560	79	429

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Oct. 30.

NEWGATE'S LEAD-SMALL MARKETS, Monday, Oct. 30.											
Per 8lbs. by the carcase.											
Inferior Beef	2s.	2d.	to 2s.	4d.	Inf. Mutton	2s.	4d.	to 2s.	10d.		
Middling do	2	6	.	2	8	Mid. ditto	3	0	.	3	4
Prime large	2	10	.	3	0	Prime ditto	3	6	.	4	0
Prime small	3	2	.	3	4	Veal	2	10	.	3	10
Large Pork	2	8	.	3	4	Small Pork	3	6	.	3	10

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Oct. 30.

The arrivals of the past week have been limited; but as the trade is not fully drawn to the water-side, and the weather being mild for the season, the quantity has been fully equal to the demand. Sales heavy.

York reds	per ton 50s. to 70s.	Guernsey whites	—s. to 46s.
Devon do	55 to 60	Kent and Essex do	45 to 50
Scotch do	55 to 60	Wishbeach	— to 50

COTTON.

The demand this week has been moderate, and, as the prices current at the close of last week have not been fully supported, we quote a decline of ½d. upon the prices obtained for American and Surat at the highest point of the late excitement. Bengal and Egyptian have been fully maintained, and in some cases rather higher rates have been obtained. The Sea Island, at auction, went off without spirit, and at a decline of ½d. per lb.; 847 Sea Island offered, 282 sold, 11½d. to 16d.; 206 stained ditto offered, 90 bags sold 4½d. to 7½d. Speculators have taken this week 2,700 bales of American and 300 Egyptian; and exporters 150 Surat and 150 American. The sales about 6,000 bales of all kinds.

WOOL.

The animation which pervades the London wool sales now pending, and the advanced prices obtained, have imparted to buyers in the north a somewhat increased confidence, evidenced, during the past week, by an augmented amount of transactions, and a partially improved tendency in prices.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Oct. 28.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow	60s. to 70s.	New Clover Hay	60s. to 96s.
New ditto	50 to 70	Old ditto	40 to 107
Useful old ditto	72 to 76	Oat Straw	28 to 31
Fine Upland do	77 to 83	Wheat Straw	32 to 35

COAL EXCHANGE, Oct. 30.

Stewart's, 21s. 6d.; Hetton's, 21s. 3d.; Lambton's, 21s. 6d.; Hartlepool's, 21s.; Braddyls Hetton's, 21s. 6d. Ships arrived his week, 323.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, Oct. 31.

SUGAR.—140 hhds Barbadoes were sold in auction at a further decline of 6d. to 1s. per cwt. The trade bought only about 400 hhds and tierces. Refined sugars are equally dull of sale. Standard lumps are 72s. 6d. to 73s.; and brown grocery 71s. to 72s. per cwt.

COFFEE.—In the absence of any public sale of consequence, the market has a healthy appearance. Good ordinary Ceylons are fetching, by private contract, from 60s. to 62s. per cwt.
RICE.—1,600 bags Bengal were sold in auction at former rates: good mid. white fetched 10s. 6d to 11s. per cwt.
PEPPER.—640 bags Malabar fetched at public sale 3½d. to 3½d. per lb for ordinary to good quality, being former rates.

Advertisements.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM.

AT the HALF-YEARLY ELECTION of this INSTITUTION, held at the Congregational Library, Bloomfield street, Finsbury, on Tuesday, Oct. 31.
 Mr JOSEPH EAST, in the Chair.

The following resolution was moved by EUSEBIUS SMITH, Esq., seconded by R. GAMMON, Esq., and adopted *nem. con.*
 "That at all future elections, the votes which might be polled by unsuccessful candidates, shall be carried to their credit at the succeeding election."

The number of votes polled for the several candidates were as follows, viz.:

Fells, W. G.	1188
Jacob, J. G.	682
Harris, E.	409
Kidgell, H. G.	261
Coleman, T.	184
Phair, J. C.	119
Jones, J.	87
Harries, R. M.	76
Cuzens, S.	51
Matthew, C.	30
Griffiths, R.	—

The first four on the above list were declared duly elected.
 GEORGE ROSE, Secretary.

MISSION TO AFRICA.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY respectfully call attention to this important field. They are building a small **SCHOONER**, for the purpose of visiting various parts of the coast of Africa, and of carrying teachers to the different stations. Nine hundred miles of coast will thus be under missionary supervision. The cost of the vessel will be upwards of £2,000, of which not more than £1,000 has been promised.

Already advertised	£950 5 4
G. T. Kemp, Esq.	10 0 0
Mr Collard	1 1 0
A Thankoffering for a Good Harvest ..	1 0 0
Sums under £1	3 0 6

The vessel (it is now ascertained) cannot leave Liverpool before the latter part of November.
 Further Donations will be thankfully received at the Mission house, 5, Fen court, London.

JOSEPH ANGUS, secretary.

This day is published, price 2s. 6d.,

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW for NOVEMBER.

CONTENTS.

1. Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics.
2. Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities.
3. Kohl's Austria.
4. Dymond's Principles of Morality.
5. Jarves's History of the Sandwich Islands.
6. Carpenter's Cyclopaedia of Popular Science.
7. Church Reform.
8. The Duty of Dissenters in Relation to the Establishment, &c.

T. WARD and Co., Paternoster Row.

This day is published, price 6d., stamped for post,

THE PHILANTHROPIST for NOVEMBER.

No. V. CONTENTS.

1. Right and Might.
2. The Law of Oaths.
3. The People's Policy.
4. Position and Prospects of Dissenters.
5. Monthly Chronicle.
6. The National Association Hall and Magisterial Tyranny.
7. O'Connell and the Ministry.
8. East London Religious Liberty Society.
9. Reviews of M'Intyre's "Influence of Aristocracies," Mrs Ellis's "Voice from the Vintage," &c., &c.

London: W. BRITAIN, 11, Paternoster row;
 and all Booksellers and Newsagents.

I.

By Mr TURLE, Organist of Westminster Abbey, and Professor TAYLOR, Gresham College.

1. PSALM TUNES.
2. SACRED MUSIC.
3. GLEES, MADRIGALS, DUETS, SONGS, &c.

THE PEOPLE'S MUSIC BOOK. A Work intended to meet the growing demand for Music among all classes of the community. Principally arranged for Four Voices, and, where admissible, with an accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte. Each number contains three separate portions, forming, respectively, a complete body of the best Music for the Cathedral, the Church or Chapel, the Family, the Glee Club, and the Madrigal Society. Published monthly in parts, comprising thirty-two pages super-royal octavo, price One Shilling.

II.

The 30th Edition of 1000 each.
FLETCHER'S FAMILY DEVOTION; containing the Morning and Evening Service of a Family for every Day throughout the Year. Embellished with Seventeen elegant Engravings. Bound in cloth, gilt edges, price £1 6s. Recommended by 25 distinguished Ministers in England, and upwards of 100 Clergymen in the United States of America.

"Our attention has lately been called to an advertisement of a book of 'Family Devotion, containing the morning and evening service of a family for every day throughout the year.' According to the advertisement, this new order for morning and evening prayer daily throughout the year is already in its 30th edition of 1000 each. 30,000 copies of a book of common prayer for dissenters, recommended by twenty-five distinguished ministers whose names are given, and who include some of the most prominent of the day, cannot be dispersed throughout England without working some considerable change in the minds of probably 200,000 persons."—*The Times*, Sept. 27, 1843.

III.

Just published.

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TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

I Beg you will accept my warmest thanks for the distinguished honour you have conferred upon me by again electing me as one of your Representatives in Parliament.

The unparalleled exertions of our opponents, the influence of Government, the power of a great party, and the weight of a large commercial house, have been opposed to us, but in vain.

In the contest, now so happily closed, great principles have been agitated; and by your kind, efficient, and unbought support the cause of human liberty, of commercial freedom, and of just and equal laws has prevailed.

The monopoly of the Corn Laws has received its death-blow. Your opinion, so strongly marked, coinciding as it does with that of other large constituencies, and also with that of noblemen and gentlemen of great landed possessions, has emphatically declared that all restrictions upon the importation of necessary food are as unjust in principle as they are impolitic in action.

I shall not cease to give my constant support to those measures which will remove from our commerce all the restrictions which past times have imposed on its freedom, and thus open to our manufacturers what they seek to obtain—the market of the world.

To all questions affecting the local, municipal, or general welfare of this city I shall give my best attention, and it will be my constant effort to render its institutions more useful and less burdensome to my fellow-citizens.

The sacred cause of civil and religious liberty will ever find in me a warm advocate. The principles which have guided my past conduct will actuate me in future, and determine me always to aid in removing those impolitic laws which deprive of their civil rights, affect the consciences, and impose unjust burdens upon, so many of our countrymen.

I cannot, however, conclude this address without expressing my heartfelt thanks to all: to the several committees I owe a debt of gratitude which nothing can efface from my memory. We have engaged in an arduous struggle—we have gained a great victory, which in its moral results will doubtless be beneficial to our country, and aid any honest Government in anticipating the wishes of the people.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

Broad street, October 23, 1843. JAMES PATTISON.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF IRELAND.

NO subject is more discussed in Parliament—in the Cabinet—in the Newspapers—than Ireland.

To judge of her importance by the amount of thought and time bestowed on her, we should pronounce no price too great with which to purchase her welfare. But with capabilities which, rightly directed, would place her high and blessed among the nations, and after being for centuries in England's care—from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear she is rent with distractions, masses of her population are sunk in wretchedness hardly to be believed by those who have not seen it, while their minds and consciences are held spell-bound by Antichristianism. Yes! take up the Map of Europe—there lies Ireland alongside Britain, and an integral part of the empire; a rock on which administration after administration has split—a problem that confounds statesmen of every creed—a perpetual clog on the wheels of Government—a source of annoyance and anxiety to the whole community.

Can anything be done for Ireland? "Repeal the Legislative Union, and give us our own Parliament," exclaim thousands of her sons. "Adopt at once coercive measures; put down the Papists; and re-establish the glorious Protestant Ascendancy," exclaim thousands more. Volumes would fail to record the recipes prescribed by empirics or sober-minded physicians to heal the land. Numbers, who profess that they would serve her if they could, have become weary in hearing about her, and seem abandoning her to her fate, judging her case hopeless without an interposition of Providence next to miraculous.

But there are Christians in Ireland acquainted with the country, and there are Christians elsewhere acquainted with the Bible, who think they see a bow of promise in the cloud that now appears to have settled on her destinies, and who have an instrumentality which, by the blessing of God, can achieve for her what nothing else can do.

Reader—God's "saving health" can cure Ireland's maladies; the "Sun of Righteousness," arising, will dissipate Ireland's gloom; the preaching of the Cross can do for Ireland, and sooner or later shall do for Ireland, what it has done elsewhere, as "the power of God unto salvation."

Reader—in the faith of these facts, "The Congregational Union of Ireland" entered the field in 1839, and has continued till now, "holding forth the Word of life" to the people. Its operations embrace, first, its Home Mission, and, secondly, its College.

The brethren engaged as agents in the Home Mission have been publishing salvation by the Cross on the hill and in the valley, on the shore and in the street, in markets, court-houses, school-rooms, &c., as well as in places regularly set apart for worship. Multitudes of Roman Catholics and others have thereby heard of Jesus; many of whom, it is hoped, have received the truth in love, and some are now among the spirits of just men made perfect. Drooping churches have been revived, and new ones formed. Were means forthcoming, more labourers would be engaged for spheres long waiting to receive them.

The Dublin Independent College is a natural, if not necessary, associate of the Home Mission. It is a "School of the Prophets," in which young men of approved piety, talent, and zeal are conducted through the various courses of study suitable to prepare them for the respectable and effective discharge of the Christian ministry. So far as is expedient and practicable, they attend the Dublin University. The plan of the Institution generally resembles that in Glasgow, of which Dr Wardlaw is Theological Tutor. The number of applicants for admission is far greater than can be received.

Reader—your contributions and your prayers are requested in behalf of these objects. A little band of true-hearted Christian men resident in Ireland, and devoted to her best interests, earnestly invite your sympathy and aid. They ask not, will you come, but will you enable them to go "to the help of the Lord against the mighty?" The position they occupy, and the work they have to do, is critically important to Christendom and the world. Ireland's religious state is vitally affecting that of Britain, America, and other parts. Her eight millions of inhabitants, year after year, are sending forth powerfully-telling influences in all directions. Appearances warrant the expectation that in Ireland the battle of the Reformation will be fought anew, finally to decide whether the King of Zion or the Man of Sin shall be supreme. Here, then, let scriptural and spiritual Protestantism concentrate its powers to make a stand, and win achievements worthy of itself.

No time is to be lost. The adversaries of truth are on the alert, by every means strengthening their cause. Within thirty years another generation of Erin's people will have passed beyond the reach of the Gospel, and long before that period has elapsed, you may be no more able to assist them.

The "Green Isle" is a land of picturesque scenery—a land of stirring intellects and generous hearts—a land of poets, warriors, statesmen, orators, artists, &c., whose names rank high in present fame. It is wished to make her, in the best sense, an "Island of Saints."

The Rev. J. Carile, 3, Helmsley terrace, Hackney, has kindly consented to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary in London to the Congregational Union of Ireland; "assuring the Committee of his unabated interest in the prosperity of an institution in the organisation of which he had the privilege of taking an active and prominent part." Mr Carile, in reply to the request of the Committee that he would for the present undertake to receive contributions towards the College department, intimates his willingness not only to "receive," but even to "solicit" subscriptions for that object.

It is right to explain that the connexion formerly agreed to between the Congregational Union of Ireland and the Irish Evangelical Society has been dissolved; so that each institution will now again pursue its course, and make its appeals for public support, independently of the other, though not in opposition or unchristian rivalry. May the Head of the church prosper all scriptural efforts to fill Ireland with the light of life!

The Committee are happy to present the following testimonials and recommendations, already received from gentlemen who

acted as referees in the Conference at Liverpool, in June, 1841, when the above-named agreement between the Congregational Union of Ireland and the Irish Evangelical Society was arranged, Dr Raffles being chairman of the meeting:—
 (Copy.)

"Liverpool, Sept. 9, 1843.

"It appearing upon the whole most desirable that the Irish Congregational Union should henceforth carry on its home missionary labours independently, I most cordially recommend their appeal for pecuniary aid to the countenance and support of the Christian public.
 (Signed)

"THOS RAFFLES."

II.

"Liverpool, Oct. 4th, 1843.

"I regret that the arrangement agreed upon at the Liverpool Conference between the Irish Evangelical Society and your Union has not been found to answer. I don't think it is desirable, even if possible, to attempt any further connexion between the two Societies, now that they have amicably separated. It will be still the duty, as I am sure it is the interest, of both to preserve a good understanding, and to occupy fields—and there is abundant room—so distant and separate as to prevent, as far possible, any fear of future collision. There will be this advantage in so acting, that both societies will have fair play, and the one that succeeds best will in the end draw towards it the largest support and sympathies of the English churches. Your Union, in my judgment, has strong claims on the assistance of our churches, and I hope you will receive such a measure of encouragement as will leave you no room to complain. I shall be glad to hear of your success, and shall do what I can to promote it. May God guide you in all your measures, and succeed your plans.
 (Signed)

"JOHN KELLY."

III.

"Glasgow, Oct. 7, 1843.

"I have ever been on principle, though I cannot now detail the grounds, favourable to the operations of the Congregational Union of Ireland. When the terms of co-operation between that Institution and the Irish Evangelical Society were settled by the meeting of referees at Liverpool, and subsequently acceded to by the Committees of both Societies, it was on the full understanding that the measure was a temporary one, and that the object of ultimate desire was that the evangelisation of Ireland, so far as the efforts of Congregationalists for that end were concerned, should fall into the hands of the Irish churches themselves. Circumstances have recently led to the dissolution of the agreement just referred to. I cannot hesitate, from the views I have always held, and without entering at all into the causes of the dissolution, to give my recommendation in the strongest terms to the Irish Congregational Union, without withdrawing it at the same time from the Irish Evangelical Society; desirous as I am that, since the terms of co-operation have been found unsatisfactory, each of these institutions should exert itself to the utmost, with a free and holy emulation, in the spirit of mutual charity and common zeal for the one great end which they both have in view.
 (Signed)

"RALPH WARDLAW."

"Birmingham, Oct. 20, 1843.

"The condition of Ireland requires the most strenuous efforts, on the part of evangelical protestants, for its spiritual welfare. In this blessed work, there are two societies engaged which are connected with the Congregational bodies in Ireland and England: these are the Irish Evangelical Society and the Irish Congregational Union. Their exertions are much more limited than they should be, for want of adequate funds. They were for a short season united, upon a plan in which, in common with many distinguished brethren, I had some share. The working of this plan has been found to be inconvenient, and it is dissolved by mutual consent. They now make their separate appeals to the liberality of the British public, and are both entitled to its support. Having lately advocated the cause of the Irish Evangelical Society, I now as cordially recommend the Irish Congregational Union.
 (Signed)

"J. A. JAMES."

The present circumstances of the Congregational Union of Ireland demand the most prompt and liberal assistance which the Christian public can supply. The necessities of the Committee, arising out of circumstances which it is unnecessary to explain, are urgent in the highest degree. Deputations in behalf of the Union to the Churches in Great Britain will be arranged for as early as possible; but it is hoped that the pecuniary aid required will not be withheld till such appeals can be made.

Communications for the Congregational Union of Ireland may be addressed to TIMOTHY TURNER, Esq., Treasurer, Royal Bank, and Rev. W. URWICK, D.D., Secretary, Rathmines Mall, Dublin

Early in November will be published, Price Sixpence,

THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ALMANACK for the Year 1844.

Under the sanction of the council of the National Complete Suffrage Union.
 The rapid and unprecedented success which has marked the progress of the Complete Suffrage agitation, and the growing interest which it excites in the public mind, clearly indicate that it will, at no distant period, become a great national movement for securing the political enfranchisement of the people. Its influence is already felt in almost every portion of the kingdom, and there is scarcely a city or borough of any importance, in England or Scotland, that does not possess a local organisation for carrying out its objects. From various causes, however, not the least of which is the uniform silence maintained, with one exception, by the leading organs of the daily press, with respect to the movement, the question has not attracted that share of public attention to which its present standing, and the future influence it is likely to exercise, justly entitle it. With a view, therefore, to assist in supplying the general want of information which prevails, as to the position and prospects of this cause, it is proposed to issue a Complete Suffrage Almanack for the ensuing year.

The plan of the work will be briefly as follows. It will be the object of the compiler to give it a twofold character—blending the useful intelligence usually found in such publications, with that kind of information more especially interesting to the friends of political equality—uniting, as far as possible, the requirements of an Almanack, with those of a Complete Suffrage manual. In connexion with the latter object it is proposed to give a succinct history of the rise, progress, and prospects of the Complete Suffrage movement, to furnish particulars as to the mode of carrying out its organisation, and the names of places in which associations have already been formed—to provide all needful information as to the position of the cause with respect to the representation of the country, its parliamentary supporters, a list of constituencies most favourable to its principles, and other useful intelligence, relative to the formation of election committees, the registration of voters, &c.

It will also form part of the proposed plan, to furnish a large amount of valuable information, illustrating the present inequality and inadequacy of the parliamentary representation, and to give various statistical facts bearing upon the question of class legislation. In a word, it is hoped that the Almanack will present, as far as possible, a bird's eye view of this great movement, and contain such other intelligence as is calculated to strengthen and recommend the great principles upon which it is based.

It is hoped that this imperfect sketch of the proposed publication will convey a general idea of its objects and intention. On the part of the compilers, no trouble or expense will be spared to make it in every way worthy of the support and encouragement of the friends of popular liberty and of the public in general; and they feel assured that so useful an undertaking will, if efficiently conducted, meet with general approbation and patronage.

The Compiler will be glad to avail himself of any general or statistical information, bearing upon the object of the Almanack, which the friends of the cause may have in their power to communicate, which may be addressed to the Publishers.
 London: Published by DAVIS and HASLER, at the Depository of the National Complete Suffrage Union, No. 4, Crane court, Fleet street; and to be had of all Booksellers.

Printed and Published at the Office, at No 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, near Fetter Lane, in the City of London, by JOHN HENRY DAVIS, of No. 76, York Road, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, on WEDNESDAY, 1st of NOVEMBER, 1843.